DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 233 826	RC 013 914
TITLE	American Indian Issues in Higher Education. Contemporary American Indian Issues Series, No. 3.
INSTITUTION	California Univ., Los Angeles. American Indian Studies Center.
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-935626-04-2.
PUB DATE	81
NOTE	196p.; Published results of the Annual Spring Conference on Contemporary American Indian Issues (4th, Los Angeles, CA, 1980).
PUB TYPE	Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC08 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Adjustment (to Environment); Administrator Education; Alcoholism; *American Indian Education; American Indian History; American Indians; *American Indian Studies; College Students; Colonialism; Counselor Client Relationship; Cultural Background; Cultural Influences; Curriculum Research; Educational History; Federal Indian Relationship; *Higher Education; Humanistic Education; Intercultural Communication; Leadership Training; *Program Attitudes; *Program Effectiveness; Tribes
IDENTIFIERS	Bureau of Indian Affairs; California; University of North Dakota

ABSTRACT

A collection of 17 articles on American Indian issues in higher education contains Russell Thornton's introduction, "American Indian Studies as an Academic Discipline: A Revisit," plus five major sections. "Purpose of American Indian Studies" covers relevancy of Indian Studies in higher education (Duchene); an alternative model for Native American Studies programs (Churchill); role of university Native American Studies programs in facilitating tribal education and economic development (Peregoy); history/structure/organization of University of North Dakota's Indian Studies Department (Eder). "Native Americans in Higher Education" discusses rationale and retention in relation to the section topic (Otis); graduate training requirements for American Indian educational administrators (Noley); a case study of American Indian education and confluent education (Bindel); Bureau of Indian Affairs higher education program in southern California (Rinnander). Adjustment programs for American Indian college students (Brown) and heritage consistency continuum in counseling Native American students (Zitzow, Estes) comprise "The Indian College Student." "Curriculum Research" addresses curriculum research for American Indian education: alcohol and American Indians (Bill); colonialism in writing American Indian history (Ortiz); methodology in Cherokee tribal history (Holm); Native American literatures (Lincoln). American Indian Studies and the future (Rouillard) and intercultural communication as an academic haven for Native American Studies (Lujan, Hill) are discussed in the final section. (MH)

ED233826

RC013914

AMERICAN INDIAN ISSUES in HIGHER EDUCATION

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Richard P. Seligman

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☑ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

American Indian Studies Center
3220 Campbell Hall
University of California
405 Hilgard Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90024

CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN INDIAN ISSUES SERIES, NO. 3

Publications in this series provide for the dissemination of scholarly discussion and analyses of timely topics which affect American Indians. The papers in this volume represent the published results of the American Indian Studies Center's Fourth Annual Spring Conference on Contemporary American Indian Issues.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Spring Conference on Contemporary American Indian Issues
(4th : 1980 : University of California, Los Angeles)
American Indian issues in higher education.

Contemporary American Indian issues series ; no. 3)
Includes bibliographical references.
1. Indians of North America—Study and teaching—Congresses. 2. Indians of North America—Education—Congresses. I. University of California, Los Angeles. American Indian Studies Center. II. Title. III. Series.
E76.6.S67 1980 973'0497'0711 81-8068
ISBN 0-935626-04-2 AACR2

© 1981 by The Regents of the University of California
Printed in the United States of America
All Rights Reserved

Produced by UCLA Publication Services Department

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION

3 American Indian Studies As An Academic Discipline: A Revisit
Russell Thornton

II. PURPOSE OF AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES

13 The Relevancy of Indian Studies In Higher Education
Marlys Duchene

19 White Studies Or Isolation: An Alternative Model For Native American Studies Programs
Ward Churchill

35 The Role Of University Native American Studies Programs In Facilitating Tribal Educational And Economic Development
Robert M. Peregoy

51 The History, Structure And Organization Of The Indian Studies Department At The University Of North Dakota
Jeanne M. Oyawin Eder

III. NATIVE AMERICANS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

59 Native Americans In Higher Education: Rationale And Retention
Morgan Otis

67 A Description Of Graduate Training Requirements For Future Administrators Of Education For American Indians

Grayson Noley

83 American Indian Education And Confluent Education: An Overview Of A Case Study

Rosalie A. Bindel

101 The BIA Higher Education Program In Southern California

Elizabeth A. Rinnander

IV. THE INDIAN COLLEGE STUDENT

117 Adjustment Programs For The American Indian College Student

Anthony D. Brown

133 The Heritage Consistency Continuum In Counseling Native American Students

Darryl Zitzow
George Estes

V. CURRICULUM RESEARCH

143 Curriculum Research For American Indian Education: Alcohol And The American Indian

Willard Bill

159 The Context of Colonialism in Writing American Indian History

Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz

167 Methodology in Cherokee Tribal History
Tom Holm

175 Native American Literatures
Kenneth Lincoln

VI. AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES AND THE FUTURE

187 American Indian Studies And The Future
John Rouillard

193 Intercultural Communication As An Academic Haven for Native American Studies
Philip Lujan
L. Brooks Hill

I

INTRODUCTION

AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES AS AN ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE: A REVISIT

RUSSELL THORNTON

I was invited to present this keynote address at the present Fourth Annual Conference of Contemporary American Indian issues. I am honored to do so. I was requested to update my original paper, "American Indian Studies as an Academic Discipline," for the keynote address.

The paper was published subsequently in two slightly different versions: in the *Journal of Ethnic Studies* (Thornton, 1977), and in the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* (Thornton, 1978). What I shall do in this update is focus on selected developments and the lack of improvements within what may be called the "discipline" of American Indian studies.

It seems reasonable to assume that many of you have not yet read one of the two versions of my original paper. Consequently, it is desirable that I first summarize my objective in writing my initial paper, state concisely some of the key ideas and arguments contained in it, and include some mention of reactions to it. After having provided this context, I shall then discuss how I see American Indian studies as a discipline at this present point in time, and suggest some issues for the future.

I think it appropriate and perhaps necessary to mention also that, neither initially nor presently, I do not advocate homogeneity for American Indian studies. Numerous centers, departments and programs have always emphasized "different things," and quite properly so. Certainly the topics on the agenda of this conference attest to the current variety within American Indian studies.

At some colleges and universities, the focus is on research activites; at others, on cultural activities, teaching and student support, and service to Indian communities or on some combination of these. By and large, this is true also of virtually any discipline in the American academic

The previous numbered page in
the original document was blank.

system. Similarly, specific activities within these functions vary widely in American Indian studies, as they do in any discipline. In teaching, for example, some programs emphasize American Indian languages, while others may focus on American Indian art, music or literature, or even the social sciences as they pertain to American Indians. American Indian history seems to be an important, common component of virtually all, if in fact not all, American Indian studies' endeavors. This attests, I think, to the critical need to rewrite the history of what is now the United States, not only bringing American Indians more into it, but also placing American Indians in their proper place in this history.

In my original paper, however, and here today as well, I focus upon only one aspect of what American Indian studies does, should do, and perhaps must do if it is to flourish in colleges and universities. This is the research, scholarly or academic part of American Indian studies. It is this concern, I maintain, which is central to modern colleges and universities and which differentiates one discipline from another. Disciplines are not differentiated from one another primarily by clientele served but by intellectual foci, techniques, and, most importantly, I think, by problem areas and approaches to them. It is this intellectual task that American Indian studies must confront and win if it is to continue to develop as a discipline, separate and unique from other disciplines.

With this prelude, let me summarize some points of my original paper "American Indian Studies as an Academic Discipline."

American Indian Studies as an Academic Discipline

My basic objective in writing the paper was to articulate the disciplinary possibilities of American Indian studies. Unlike most disciplines, American Indian studies became structurally a part of higher education (i.e., courses, faculties and programs were developed) without a clearly distinct or even concisely defined intellectual entity. It was created to serve a "new" clientele, a clientele for which the U.S. system of higher education was created (by founding Harvard, William and Mary, and such other institutions as Dartmouth) to educate "Indian and other youth of this land." However, the Indian clientele were quickly forgotten by this system in favor of the "other youth of this land," and were even disenfranchised from the system, or at least the mainstream of the system. Only in response to demands from American Indians did colleges and universities "open their doors," some ten or fifteen years ago to American Indians, their interests, and bodies of knowledge. At this time American Indian studies was created more or less as only a loose configuration of existing disciplines (particularly anthropology, history and law), of Indian cultures (especially Indian languages, art and music), and of contemporary issues and problems of Indian peoples. I argued in my paper that, since the initial "creation," American Indian studies had not sufficiently developed intellectually for it to flourish or even perhaps survive in the academic system, and if it was to do so, it must "come to grips" with the scholarly activities characteristic of other disciplines.

On this premise—that American Indian studies needed to develop greater scholarly and research activities—I then turned attention to an examination of the disciplinary possibilities of American Indian studies. I did so because there were many who argued strongly that American Indian studies was not only not a discipline, but could in fact never become a discipline, and moreover was really only a clientele to be served by knowledge from other disciplines. These arguments were organized under four headings: distinct methodology; abstract concepts; unique area of concern; and scholarly traditions. In other words, American Indian studies had been criticized as seriously lacking in all four of these areas, and all four were necessary for an area to be a discipline distinct from other disciplines. My conclusions, however, were otherwise.

I concluded that the first two criticisms—distinct methodology and abstract concepts—were not necessary for a distinct discipline, as many disciplines exist separately without them. The conclusion regarding the third criticism—unique area of concern—was that many distinct disciplines do not have unique areas of concern but ones shared with other disciplines. I also concluded, however, that American Indian studies does in fact have a unique area of concern. Its broad concern with American Indians is one shared with certain other disciplines, particularly anthropology and history. American Indian studies, however, is unique because it considers American Indians, their societies, cultures and concerns, in ways heretofore not considered in academia—endogenously and unfragmented. My conclusion as to the fourth criticism—lack of unique intellectual areas of concern—was that it was more or less justified. I also concluded that these unique intellectual concerns or traditions do in fact distinguish one discipline from another. At the time of my paper, that is, a few years ago, American Indian studies had not articulated a set of intellectual issues distinct from other disciplines on which it would focus, examine, claim more or less for its own, and consequently build an intellectual (and, by implication, disciplinary) tradition around. It was certainly capable of doing so, as I endeavored to illustrate, but it had not yet done so. However, without this intellectual uniqueness that seems characteristic of other disciplines, the argument that American Indian studies should exist separately in colleges and universities is tenuous, and very tenuous indeed.

At that time, it seemed to me that American Indian studies had performed its cultural, teaching/student advising, and service tasks quite well but that it had all but ignored its more scholarly, academic tasks. What it had done fairly successfully and quite properly was to bring American Indian concerns and aspects of American Indian cultures (e.g., language, art, music, dance and literature) into colleges and universities. Other than this, however, American Indian studies was in many ways "intellectually reactive"; that is, it criticized existing bodies of knowledge relating to American Indians, particularly those of anthropology and history, and sought to present new information and interpretations. This was certainly needed, as these and other disciplines had not adequately treated American Indians and American Indian concerns. I argued, however, that more than this was needed, and that American Indian studies must develop its own positive, unique directions and not remain as a "reactive discipline."

Given this, I then briefly suggested some possible intellectual directions American Indian studies might take in order to build a discipline. The suggested directions were: oral traditions, their content and methodology; the issue of treaties and treaty rights; Indian forms of tribal government and organization; group persistence, or how groups are able to survive in the face of continued pressure to be eliminated; American Indian epistemology, i.e., the origin, development and meaning of American Indian bodies of knowledge; and finally, contemporary concerns of American Indian people. Each of these was seen as an area in which more or less unique contributions could be made by American Indian studies.

The reactions to the paper, I think, were positive. They were positive because I illustrated that American Indian studies had potential and could attain a place alongside other disciplines. I also think they were positive because I pointed out the fact that American Indian studies as a separate component at colleges and universities was not only desirable, but necessary, if American Indians and their knowledge were to be represented adequately in higher education. The paper, I think, helped provide a legitimacy to American Indian studies at various colleges and universities.

A Revisit

Prior to the creation of American Indian studies programs, American Indian knowledge and concerns had been represented basically in colleges and universities only through the disciplines of anthropology and history, and had been neglected by other disciplines. As an example of this, let me mention another study of mine (Thornton and Grasmick, 1979a, 1979b, 1980) which examines the extent social science disciplines have studied American Indians.

I researched the scholarly journal literature of the social science disciplines and included all journal articles in the history of the disciplines. I found that anthropology possessed thousands of papers on American Indians, and history about 1500 papers. But there are only about three hundred in sociology, one hundred in geography, one hundred in American studies and ethnic studies combined, and a mere few dozen in economics and political science.

Thus, the bodies of knowledge we have about American Indians in the social science disciplines are not balanced but biased by the disciplines of anthropology and history. I am not criticizing these disciplines for they are proper ones to study American Indians, but other disciplines need to concern themselves with American Indians as well. The fact that the American society seems to know a disproportionate amount about American Indians as traditional, historical people, and relatively little about American Indians as contemporary people is perhaps a function of this disciplinary imbalance.

With the advent of American Indian studies, I see American Indians being much more adequately represented in colleges and universities, much more so than has been the case in the past.

American Indian studies, as is true of human endeavors, has had both success and failure in its disciplinary development over the past few years. It has, however, shown much promise in moving toward becoming a discipline. This conference is now in its fourth year and seems the major national, yearly meeting for American Indian studies scholars. The journal published at UCLA—*The American Indian Culture and Research Journal*—has grown tremendously over the past few years and is well on its way to becoming the important academic outlet for major research and scholarship on American Indians. Proposed graduate training programs may be established in the near future, and already UCLA has a postdoctoral program.

The past three years have thus been progressive ones, but the problems and needs of American Indian studies as a discipline are still there and must be faced continually if American Indian studies is to grow and develop. Already we have witnessed a "folding" of American Indian studies—at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle—and a complete redirection of American Indian studies—at the University of Minnesota. The program at the Chicago Circle failed to develop, as I understand it, and failed to secure necessary faculty; consequently it was eliminated. The Department of Indian Studies at Minnesota is narrowing its mandate to include only teaching and research, and is being reorganized so that these may be accomplished. There is the implicit understanding that it will likely not survive if they are not accomplished. More and more, I predict, we may witness this type of "weeding out" due to financial cutbacks in higher education in general.

Consequently, the future for American Indian studies is open. It could blend back into other disciplines at colleges and universities or become mere components of them, e.g., American Indian studies could become an aspect of ethnosociology or a subarea of sociology. Or, American Indian studies could emerge completely as a discipline, unique and distinct in higher education. It has the potential of doing so, but it has not yet done so.

For American Indian people to be represented adequately in colleges and universities, we need various other disciplines to give greater attention to and respect for American Indians, American Indian concerns, and American Indian bodies of knowledge. We also need American Indian studies as an academic discipline, as unique and distinct from other disciplines.

A Look to the Future

A development important to the future of American Indian studies would be the articulation of a uniqueness about American Indian studies based on what is unique about American Indians, and American Indian societies, cultures and bodies of knowledge. We talk a lot about how American Indians are different, and about the "Indian way" (actually "Indian ways"), but we have really yet to state intellectually this uniqueness and relate it to American Indian studies. I know we mention Indian conceptions of time, leadership, and views of the world. No one has, however, to my knowledge dealt adequately with American Indian epistemology and how this relates to American Indian studies. I am aware of a few attempts, but no definitive statement. To accomplish this in the next few years would be a significant step toward the insuring of a future place for American Indian studies in higher education. It would also be a major accomplishment and contribution to knowledge in general and the paradigms upon which knowledge is based.

A development crucial to the future of American Indian studies will be the creation of more and more American Indian scholars. I assert that if there is one single development "key" to the survival of American Indian studies, if there is one single problem that American Indian studies has had in the past, if there is one single thing it *must* do now, it is the development of faculty interested and trained in pursuing university careers. The chronic need around the country is faculty members. American Indian studies has made many inroads in the academic system, but these inroads may be only temporary if they are not able to attain permanent (tenured) faculty at our colleges and universities. This is "key," but far too little progress has been made.

An encouraging sign in the accomplishment of this critical need is, I think, the recent awareness by Indian academics in the United States and Canada of the importance of research and scholarship to both American Indian studies and American Indians. It is now realized, I think, that the educational task needed for larger American society is an immense one, and that rather than reacting only defensively and negatively by criticizing past research and knowledge of non-Indians, it is necessary also to react positively by generating sound, scholarly and realistic knowledge about American Indians, and American Indian societies, cultures, and concerns. I know of many young American Indians who are now seeking the basic information, techniques and skills to do their own research and generate their own knowledge.

This involvement of American Indians and others in American Indian studies in the scholarly and research activities of higher education is, I think, the next step to be made in the years to come. It is not everything American Indian studies is about or should be about, but it is crucial.

The "battle" of both American Indians and American Indian studies must be fought on many different battlegrounds, in many different ways, and by many different groups of people. One battleground is higher education. One way is through the generation of research and scholarship by scholars and researchers dedicated to furthering knowledge of and about American Indians.

REFERENCES

Thornton, Russell

1977 "American Indian Studies as an Academic Discipline." *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 5:1–15.

1978 "American Indian Studies as an Academic Discipline." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 2:10–19

Thornton, Russell, and Mary K. Grasmick

1979a *Bibliography of Social Science Research and Writings on American Indians.* Minneapolis: Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota.

1979b "Sociological Study of American Indians: A Research Note on Journal Literature." *Ethnicity* 6: 299–305.

1980 *Sociology of American Indians: A Critical Bibliography*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

II

PURPOSE OF AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES

THE RELEVANCY OF INDIAN STUDIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

MARLYS DUCHENE

Introduction

For the first time in the scholarly world, there has been a constructive and affirmative movement to expand the academic arena to include pertinent data to tribal people nation-wide.

The anthropological aspects of Native American culture are going beyond the beadwork, crafts, and pottery, to certain beliefs and practices, concepts and norms.

The designers of the standard academic arena were Euro-Americans. Therefore, the arena embodied beliefs and routines that were strictly Euro-American. The basis that provided the object for self-reflection was European heritage, not tribal heritage. Little consideration had been given to tribal people who were not descendents of Anglo-Americans. Moreover, the beliefs and customs which had been the object of self-reflection and which had existed unnoticed by the very groups they were supposed to influence were very detrimental to other groups. In the latter case, the systems of beliefs and customs were not the same, thereby dominating rather than serving certain individuals. The larger society had failed to perceive the subtle forms of discrimination that existed in the academic halls from the out-right errors that were made. Information in the educational departments dramatized the chasm that existed between the worlds of tribal peoples and Euro-Americans.

The new phenomenon which has appeared before tribal people and the Euro-American alike is an innovative department: Indian Studies.

The previous numbered page in
the original document was blank.

Perhaps it will provide the necessary avenue that will narrow the chasm between the worlds of tribal peoples and Euro-Americans.

The Nature of Standard Educational Departments

The standard educational department, be it a department educating in the field of language, art, history, or social science utilized on campuses of most colleges, has been developed for and by Anglo-Americans. This situation was of great consequence to tribal people. Educators were trained in the most general and vague principle ideas that had little relevance to most tribal students on the campuses.

While the privileges and principles of democracy had long been known to tribal people prior to the writing of the U.S. Constitution, the privileges of American democracy had not been extended to Indians. American democracy did not allow Indians the right to study their principle ideas that held great relevancy for them.

Instead, the educational systems encompassed in most departments imposed on tribal people a system that stifled their ultimate growth; a growth with which they might have attained the necessary tools to live concurrently in both tribal and American societies with dignity, self-confidence, and security. Tribal people had been prevented from having the necessary working knowledge to live in either culture.

These departments of the American academic systems are standardized with certain beliefs and practices, concepts and norms. These values, beliefs, and routines, are objects of self-reflection. In transmitting what had been considered as standardized knowledge, it was commonly thought that this knowledge paralleled and reproduced the values and norms embodied in the "accepted" society. It has always been that this "accepted" society had direct linkage with the production, distribution, and evaluation of the educational material that was designed to influence strongly how its audience perceived and structured their past experiences. In designing the various departments of higher education, the beliefs and practices could hardly be value-free and neutral.

Since the designers of the standard departments were Euro-Americans, the academic curriculum embodied their customary routines, in their form, manner, and order. The basis that provided the object for self-reflection was this heritage, and not tribal form, manner, and order. Little consideration was given to tribal people who were not descendents of the Anglo-American. Moreover, the beliefs and routines that had been the object of self-reflection and that had existed unnoticed by some groups of students were readily apparent to tribal people.

Euro-American educational experts had homogenized over four hundred tribes of people under the standard term "Indians." Lost from sight were groups of people who not only were dissimilar in their customs and traditions from the Euro-Americans but who were also unlike each other. In labeling the tribal people of this land "Indians", each group had been stripped of their unique beliefs and practices. History had been solely Indian-White relations with Indians usually in the passive position of responding to the Euro-American initated events. Indian/White relations are only a single phase of the total political and social life of both peoples. The internal and intertribal affairs of Indian groups, their changing life-styles and cultural continuum is on a different perspective in that it came from many thousands of years of tradition. No textbook treats the history and culture of tribal people as part of the total history of the races of man.

For all these groups of people, higher education embodied foreign beliefs and blocked an avenue for their self-reflection. Lost had been the opportunity to reflect on past experience that would parallel and reproduce values and norms once acceptable to tribal systems.

The Nature of Indian Studies

The new Indian Studies departments in higher education will provide an opportunity for students to study the history and values of their ancestors as had the sons and daughters of the Protestant, Anglo-Saxon Americans.

The creation of courses for these departments will encompass ideas and beliefs that are by their very nature radically different from the standard History and Literature department. The historical and social content of these courses will by dictated by the location of the colleges. No longer will tribal beliefs, values, and practices be homogenized in the most general and vague principles. Specific tribal histories, philosophies, and languages will finally be at the core of the department's development.

Educational genocide of tribal values and social systems will cease as the department expands the program to incorporate such ideas. Academic people who thought that the past was dead have discovered that the rhetoric of it is not. It will not stay buried.

In the past generations, wagon-trains came to carry away the tribal student to distant ideas and beliefs. Tribal people had been patiently waiting for a new system to carry them back to their roots. The wagon-train of yesteryear split and fragmented peoples from the histories and knowledge of their social and religious beliefs that once serviced them with confidence.

For the first time since John Collier's plan to institute some sort of a change in the educational sphere, a new opportunity has availed itself to tribal people to re-learn ideas and beliefs. The department of Indian Studies can reconnect a people with the knowledge of their world.

Very few tribal people understand their current plight, agony, and circumstances. By permitting the curriculum development and expansion through a department of Indian Studies, Indian people will have the opportunity to rediscover the many facets of their historical past. The new activities will allow a group to unravel and recognize the imposed kinds of definitions, interpretations, and emotional pain the previous systems had pushed on them.

The struggle for the accessibility of such knowledge in embryonic curriculums of Indian Studies shows that this is not the rubric of core curriculum. Where such a department may exist, it remains vulnerable to the social and academic climate. Each person involved with the development of an Indian Studies department soon discovers that plans for the new system which have not been developed in the Anglo tradition are already in need of salvation.

Salvation will not come easily. The bias of White America can not support change in the academic realm because of the unwillingness to try and understand the new departments. The lack of progress in the new area of Indian Studies has been due to the fixed attitudes of Euro-Americans.

The Attitudinal Syndrome

The attitudinal syndrome of the ruling class of officials, whose old mind-sets still retain control over policy and funding, arrests the growth and development of an Indian Studies arena.

Understanding the attitudinal syndrome of this ruling class proved to be enlightening yet frightening. There must be a certain enjoyment in habitual sluggishness in rising each morning with the same idea as the nights and generations before.

The inertia of the sluggish mind-set has continued to maintain ideas that are cemented in the old myths of Indian/White relationships. Fossilized beliefs and absurd ideas about cultural superiority of white-America should not be the focal points of education.

This syndrome of White-America continues to perceive tribal knowledge as consisting only of bone or glass beads, leather shirts and dresses with feathers. To such groups of biased thinkers there are no contemporary Indians, only Americans, and any curriculum development must continue to stay mired in falsehoods they perceive as truths. People must recognize that the tribal heritage is a living, evolving legacy which has not been static in the past and is not static today. The core of being a tribal person is being a member of a tribe and it goes beyond any particular style of dress or ornamentation. Academicians must avoid the idea that a "real" Indian needs to dress and act as his ancestors did centuries ago.

Another hurdle to overcome has been the idea that the inclusion of Indian Studies or a revision in the academic curriculum is indicative of a people looking backward to a valueless system that has little if any bearing on contemporary matters. It has become necessary to discover the fallacies of that type of thinking and to discard the old standard way of thinking for a new set of patterns in order to re-establish order to contemporary environments of tribal people.

Generations of dreams, crises, adjustments, and ancient roots should surface in the much needed department of Indian Studies.

The rhetoric of each tribal group can contribute to long hours of researching for the hidden but not entirely lost facets of human experiences. Books written on groups of tribal people have been incorrect so it has become imperative that academicians go directly to primary sources and rewrite the volumes of materials that presently exist on tribal people. There is the necessary revisions of textbooks, teacher-guides, course outlines, and visual aids (films, filmstrips, slides, and illustrations), that carry the stereotype images and errors of tribal people which must be completed. More research has to be done for courses, course outlines and teacher guides, in order to insure a correct collection of information. The material is there in the volumes that line the library shelves. They must be located.

With the growth of Indian Studies departments it can be realized finally that there has been some integration and revision of tribal aspects and focal points. The change will certainly insure that tribal and Euro-American students receive a new and an enlightening perspective of historical and contemporary matters to Indian people. The change is meant only to create a more honest environment with which to understand the meanings, tastes, and ways of viewing the world.

The change is not meant to make school officals paranoid about the new direction. It is just that the closed minds of academia have had to confront the various definitions and interpretations that have been created in other academic circles. It has become necessary for some factions to discover the fallacies and learn to adjust, to substitute old curriculum for expansion and include areas of subject matter pertaining to tribal histories, literature, and philosophies. It has become necessary for some individuals to look inward at the perceptions and teachings of their historical roots.

Rarely, if at all, do the regular classroom courses reflect the positive impact tribal societies have had on the American nation. Contributions to American medicine, literature, and government were made by tribal people. But beyond these contributions, tribal people will be able to probe into their own oral traditions, value systems, social mechanisms, and religious foundations as White-Americans have had the opportunity to do.

Native American Studies does not hope to make an attempt to bring back the past, but endeavors to educate the young of the tribes to appreciate tribal customs that were effective for thousands of years. By returning to the knowledge of our peoples, we will be able to reestablish our dignity from cultures that once held competency, bravery, honesty, and trustworthiness as the focal points of life. And perhaps, after all is said and done, we will have been able to bring people closer together and succeed in deepening man's understanding of what human life is, rather than in promoting the limited view that the world has been taught.

WHITE STUDIES OR ISOLATION: AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL FOR NATIVE AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAMS

WARD CHURCHILL

The nature of Native American studies programs is a perplexing question confronting advocates of this discipline at the onset of the 1980s. The question centers not so much on what Native American studies are for this has been dealt with elsewhere,[1] but in what the programs can be or should be.

This essay attempts to sketch the possibility of one line of development open to Native American studies in the decade ahead as contrasted to a pair of current "options." In doing so, it shall provide analysis as to why these options are not viable in a long term sense, if they are viable in any respect at all, and posits a tentative countermodel as a prototype for future development.

White Studies

As currently established, the university system in the United States offers little more than the presentation of "White Studies" to students, mainstream and minority alike. This is to say that university curriculum (required course content) all but monolithically focuses on European conceptual modes as being the "natural" formation of knowledge/means of perceiving reality. In the vast bulk of curriculum content, Europe is not only the subject conceptual mode (which is to say the very process of "learning to think"), but the object of investigation as well.

Consider a typical introductory (freshman-sophomore level) philosophy course. It will, in all probability, explore the Greek philosophers, the fundamentals of Descartes and Spinoza, dabble in Hegel, cover a chapter or two of Neitsche and, in a good course, end with a bit of "adventurous"

23

summarization of the existentialism extended by Sartre or Camus. Advanced (junior-senior) classes tend to focus on the introductory survey contents piecemeal and in depth: "Kant's Aesthetic," "The Morality of John Stuart Mill," "The Cartesian Vision," etc. Graduate level work generally requires a coherent effort to reinterpret the material assimilated in depth in upper division undergraduate classes. Thus, from first semester freshman endeavor through the Ph.D., "philosophy" majors (or non-majors, for that matter) are fed a consistent stream of data defining European thought at its highest level, its evolution and probable line of future unfolding. Note that this is considered *philosophy in toto,* not European philosophy or "White Studies."

It is reasonable to pose the question as to what consideration is typically given to the thought of the remainder of the human race within such a format. The answer is generally that coursework does, in fact, exist as upper level undergraduate survey or "broadening" curriculum: "Oriental Philosophy" is not unpopular, "The Philosophy of Black Africa" exists as a catalogue offering at a number of institutions, even "Native American Philosophy" (also casually titled "Black Elk Speaks," from time to time) is sporadically provided here and there.

Clearly the student who graduates, at whatever level or degree, from a philosophy program constructed along such lines (and the vast bulk of them are) is walking away with a concentration of knowledge within a European intellectual schema, *not* with a comprehensive understanding of the philosophical thought of humanity. Yet, equally clearly, a degree in "philosophy" implies, or should imply, the latter. It seems highly unlikely that one could open a college or university catalogue at any institution in the United States and find a heading, "White Studies," although—at least in terms of the discipline of philosophy—White Studies as a curriculum entity may be seen to exist in practice.

Such a perception may hardly be expected to be received sympathetically in academia. On the face of it, the way seems to be open for the intelligensia to argue that, even if such observations are true relative to philosophy (philosophers after all, are by nature eccentric "kooks"), they prove nothing relative to the university as a whole. The point may be conceded; however, examination of other curriculum structures yields the same general result as is demonstrable with philosophy.

One may search, and in all probability the search will be a vain one, for the history department which accords anything like the same weight to the oral and/or pictographic "prehistory" of the native indigenous peoples of this hemisphere as is allowed the semi-literate efforts at self-justification scrawled by early European colonists;[2] even the elaborate Mexicano (Aztec) codexes are uniformly ignored by the "historical mainstream."[3]

Most freshman introductory courses in "American History" nationally begin effectively in 1492; often with prefatory passages extended to cover all the precontact history of Native America (for both continents) as well as "the Vikings" in a single preliminary chapter of textbooks.[4]

Equally fruitless would be a quest for the math course which truly acknowledges the marvelous mathematics developed by the Mexicano people, allowing a calendrical system several times more accurate than the Julian calendar currently utilized in our "advanced" society. The same could be said for the mathematics which allowed the incredible "Pre-Columbian" architecture of the southern and central portions of this hemisphere, the quite extensive and effective irrigation systems developed in the New Mexico/Arizona region of North America, and other engineering feats.[5]

In agriculture, there seems a determined disregard for the fact that the so-called hunters and gatherers of this continent cultivated (before white "settlement" totally disrupted such socially stable activity) large tracts in ecologically sound ways, and developed the prototype forms of the majority of our currently popular vegetable and fruit dietary ingredients.[6] Medicine seems bound to disregard as "primitive" and superstitious" the very elaborate and effective herbology employed from time immemorial on this continent by tribal healers, portions of which have only lately begun to re-emerge in wide usage as the result of "advances in science."[7]

The reader is invited, even challenged, to locate the political science courses which offer indepth investigation into the political workings of the so-called Iroquois Confederacy, an ongoing historical entity which (by his own statements) provided Benjamin Franklin the essential model from which he elaborated the structure of the United States government.[8] The Roman example is quite uniformly studied as antecedent to the U.S. republic, in the face of solid evidence to the contrary.

Any undergraduate student of art and/or literature might be called upon to bear witness to the fact that these disciplines parallel the structure sketched in the case of philosophy; there is the "universal Euro yardstick" by which subject matter is measured, and then there are the broadening, specialization, or even esoteric areas of "other cultural" consideration.

Such a summation of the current state-of-the-art in curriculum structures could be continued for pages and in much greater detail. However, the point should be made, given the preceding samples as indicative of a pervasive educational condition. White Studies, as a functional reality, exists and hardly in the arena of a single discipline such as philosophy. The next obvious question which must be posed is why such a condition would come to pass.

Conceptual Differentiation

The standard rationale offered by defenders and critics alike when the subject of White Studies is broached seems usually to fall within one or more of the following categories:

1) The notion that Europe is, and has been for the past thousand years or more, the intellectually leading culture on the planet. Thus, a seeming imbalance in focus upon the thought and accomplishments of Europe is perfectly in order; other cultures are diminished to "primitive" insignificance (to a greater or lesser, culturally relativistic, degree), and are therefore more or less interesting sideshows to "true" history.
2) The notion that contemporary power relations (both internal to the U.S. and globally) dictate the "right of the conqueror" to impose the "winning" or "successful" mode of conceptualization upon the "losing" or "unsuccessful" peoples/cultures. The fittest have survived wars of their own making and Social Darwinism is quantified to allow a self-justifying polemic covering the reconceptualization of the universe on their terms.
3) The notion that all people/cultures really tend to think/conceive in the same way, so White Studies is no more or less than a minor misfocusing on assorted facts. The concepts involved will cover the content of *any* culture, therefore all that is required is to add a few more courses covering the "objective data" of a few more cultures.

It may be observed that each category contains a certain amount of accuracy insofar as it articulates the surface (polemical) arrogance of the dominant culture's intellectual practitioners and exposes the objective basis for White Studies. However, each category neatly avoids the subjective conditions involved; they acknowledge the reasons behind imposition of a certain conceptualization, but not the nature of the conceptualization itself.

The structure of European conceptualization may be schematized as follows, in this instance relative to two areas of inquiry, science and religion (spirituality):

Diagram 1: Euro-conceptual model.

In such a schema, "knowledge" is divided into discrete content areas arranged in a linear structure. The division is permanent and enforced (witness the Spanish Inquisition and Scopes "Monkey Trial," as but two examples of historical enforced division). In the case of Science and Religion, the opposition of these two discrete entities of thought has given rise to a further discrete entity which may be termed "Speculative Philosophy," which is informed both by Science and Religion (as theology) and in turn, informs them. Speculative Philosophy, in this sense at least, may be viewed as a mechanism through which the linearly isolated entities, Science and Religion, may communicate and "progress." Speculative Philosophy is not, in itself, intended to apprehend reality, but to create an abstract reality in its place. Both Science and Religion, according to their discrete dynamics as informed by the philosophical abstract, are intended to allow the concrete apprehension of and action upon/within reality.

Such compartmentalization within the conception structure itself is echoed in the compartmentalization/departmentalization of the European educational and curriculum structure itself. Sociology, Philosophy, Theology, Biology, Literature, etc., are all *necessarily* viewed as separate, or at least separable (discrete) areas of inquiry. The social structure itself is popularly construed in fragmentary fashion: church, state, military, government, business, education, art (or, worse, "culture"), etc. It follows that a cultural context operating from the basis of such a conceptual mode would be unable, within an educational forum constructed in its image (predicated on categories 1-3 above), to prove capable of incorporating the integrity of an opposing conceptual mode.

When contrasted to traditional Native American conceptual modes, as schematized in the following diagram, the problem becomes apparent:

Diagram 2: Native American Conceptual Model.

Within such a conceptual structure (which in its generalities, would seem potentially to apply to other non-European cultures than Native American, as well), there is really no compartmentalization of "spheres of knowledge." All categories (by European definition) tend to be perpetually and mutually informing. All tend to constantly concretize human existence with reality (nature) while all are simultaneously informed by that reality. This is the "hoop" or "wheel" or "circle" of life referred to within the (continuing) oral traditions of so many native indigenous peoples. Reality is not something "above," but an integral part of the living/knowing process itself.

Thus, the omission of Native American content of substance within contemporary university curricula is not merely the by-product of "might makes right," cultural chauvinism and ignorance of the facts, although these factors have their legitimate place within the situation. More important, and much more difficult to deal with, is the consideration that the linear and fragmentary model upon which these curricula are built is utterly unable to cope with conceptual differentiation. The *facts* of Native

American and other non-European achievements must be disregarded by virtue of the European tradition's lacking the analytical tools to comprehend how such achievements could have been attained at all.

To integrate the substance of Native American studies into the university curriculum implies a need for thinkers from utterly non-European traditions, the outright validation of such people as "unschooled" oral historians, herbal healers and spiritualists as "professors." Also implied is that the European "scientific" tradition is not necessarily the penultimate achievement of the human intellectual experience; that there may well be appropriate—even *more* appropriate—methodologies outside the context of Europe; that European arms demolished bodies of knowledge over the past several centuries, the contents of which *still* excel that provided through the European tradition.

It is not to be anticipated that the academic professionals whose careers are totally entwined with Europe's conceptual structure will relinquish their hegemony easily. Integration of a true "world view," or even a significant portion of it, into academia necessarily undercuts the stability of European dominance; hence, a substantial number of comfortable careers among entrenched academics are threatened.

One option open to Native American studies practitioners in the years ahead is simply to acknowledge (or even ignore) a bad situation and then proceed to work at incorporating only the objective data of their discipline into U.S. university curricula. Such a trajectory of action would seem, however, self-coopting in that it allows the realities of Native America to be reinterpreted in conformity with Euro-conceptual presupposition. It would also seem to be self-defeating in the sense that such voluntary capitulation in terms of conceptual validity tends to certify social Darwinist argumentation concerning the inherent superiority of European tradition and the "legitimacy" of current power relations.

Native American Studies may indeed be assimilated into the White Studies context, but at the cost of its own (potential, at least) conceptual integrity. The raw data of Native American Studies can be absorbed piecemeal and out of context into a redefinitional framework over a period of time. Insofar as this is true, such a tendency may be seen as little more than a reasonably sophisticated updating of Hollywood stereotyping and Christian missionizing of native indigenous peoples. It might be suggested, at this point, that the cost is unacceptable.

Isolation

Another optional route open to Native American Studies over the next few years is simply to withdraw from "mainstream" or integrative activities, either altogether or substantially; to acknowledge that it's "us" and "them." Parallel academic structures must be developed, therefore, within the university as compensation for the *de facto* existence of monolithic White Studies curricula. Such was the primary strategy employed by the developers of Black Studies during the mid to late 1960s.

The problems with this approach are multiple:

1) The establishment of Black Studies usually occurred as constituting yet another discrete disciplinary area, thereby formalizing Black Studies as a single department on campus. White Studies, on the other hand, was not directly affected in any way and continued to function on a multi-departmental basis. Thus, Black Studies has remained massively "outgunned" from the beginning.
2) The establishment of Black Studies occurred essentially at a late and convenient date, its professional membership last hired and first fired. In a period of real and anticipated budget slashes, such "late date" formations are generally suicidal from the first day; White Studies are not similarly affected (not extinguished by lack of "seniority" within the system).
3) The establishment of Black Studies under such strategic provisions tended all but automatically to insure its immediate isolation, both administratively and conceptually, from other intellectual streams of academia. Thus, graduates of such programs found themselves labeled as "unqualified" for professions other than teaching Black Studies; "all *you* learned in school was how to be black, boy." Thus initial and legitimate interest in the programs declined and enrollments diminished along with interest. The alterations internal to the education system tentatively afforded by the creation of Black Studies could do little to alter the fact that the system was/is but a reflection of the broader (employing) social reality.

The above is not intended to single out Black Studies as deserving of abuse or to diminish the achievements of these programs over the past fifteen years. Black Studies serves as a noteworthy example by virtue of having pioneered in seeking to find viable alternatives to White Studies. Its formulators were neither witless nor necessarily strategically naive; recognition of the defects of their project represents hindsight and says much more about the dominant culture than it does about them. What was undertaken by Black Studies personnel was/is timely in terms of need; a concrete initial step *had* to be taken at some point and Black Studies personnel exhibited the requisite skills and courage to take it. To the extent that history has demonstrated their failure in certain aspects, these failures should be utilized as lessons to similarly minded groups/individuals in elaborating future strategies to counter White Studies' academic hegemony.

For practitioners and advocates of Native American Studies to embark full-tilt along the road paved by the Black Studies experience remains, of course, a possibility. However, it should be evident from the above that such a course of action offers little prospect of long term programmatic viability, that it ultimately serves to reinforce the status of monolithic White Studies ("we *gave* you a chance but you blew it"), and that it eventually must lead to the charade of "Indians going to college to learn to be Indians." Such self-negation cannot rightfully suggest a fruitful strategy for Native American Studies development.

An Alternative Approach

If neither assimilation into the conceptual apparatus of White Studies or isolation from it are satisfactory options for Native American Studies, then yet another route must be found (that is, unless the very notion of Native American Studies itself is to be abandoned). Such an alternative seems to lie within a line of action which seeks to penetrate the sanctuaries of White Studies across the board, in conceptual as well as factual or objective terms.

This is to say that introductory or survey philosophy courses cannot meet their ostensible objectives unless and until Native American (and other non-European) concepts are presented *in their own right* along with those characteristic of the European tradition. The linear schema, rather than being presented as a universal, must be presented as one possible mode among several or many. This does not constitute a diminishment of the European tradition in any valid sense, but rather a process of placing it within its true context; indeed, preventing it from being utterly distorted into the universal that it has never been.

The same necessity would prevail in disciplines such as Literature, Art, Political Science, Sociology, Agriculture, etc., etc. The Native American perspective must be fully integrated within existing curricula in all academic areas and at all levels. Such a strategy offers at least the possibilities that:

1) By truly integrating Native content into curriculums/departments as they currently exist, the programs will be saved the perpetual jeopardy indicated in "last hired, first fired" situations. It is rather more difficult for the university to extract content from departments such as English or Sociology than it is to lop an isolated "minority program" with diminishing student enrollment during periods of budgetary crisis.

2) Incorporation of substantive Native American content into mainstream departments will underwrite the exposure of a student population considerably broader than the numerically narrow Native American student base. A rule of thumb might be that Native students are the group *least* in need of learning Native concepts; the imperative is for non-Indians to begin an education concerning Native realities (as opposed to White fostered mythology).

3) Such a strategy would relatively insure that Native American (and other) students can fully participate in Native American Studies without necessarily bearing a degree "stigma" in the job market upon graduation. By the same token, non-Indians would tend to carry certain fundamental Native American conceptual apprehensions into society at large upon graduation. The objective should not be to "train Indians to be Indians," but to ultimately incorporate the Native American perspective into the worldview of all graduates.
4) The result of such a process on a long term basis should tend to reorder the structure of academia (and, as a consequence, the larger society beyond) into a progressively less virulently ethnocentric configuration, allowing more or less continuous expansion of Native American and other non-European curriculum content until such point as worldview corresponds to world-historical reality.

This operant strategy would necessarily place a heavy load upon the professionals engaged in Native American Studies on several primary counts:

1) Tactically, it will be necessary to maintain a constant and biting critique of the deficiencies and omissions existing in current curriculum structures. This is guaranteed to be a pitched battle in most instances insofar as reigning academicians hold a clear and vested interest in maintaining the *status quo.* They must be publicly confronted in the clearest possible terms of the inherent contradictions of their own position(s).
2) It follows that, when ground is given up by White Studies as a result of such efforts, that the alternative curriculum, based in the Native American context, is ready to be employed. This requires the development by Native American Studies personnel of integrative curriculum in virtually all disciplines as a prerequisite to success.
3) Again, it follows that much of the particulars of such curriculum units will fall outside the range of expertise as evidenced by professors trained within the context of White Studies. Personnel for faculty positions, and often these will necessarily be the "uneducated" traditional tribal leaders, must be identified prior to the emergence of such openings. The in-place staffs of Native American Studies programs must be prepared to fight (and win through weight of argument) the credentials battles which will inevitably emerge. Again, reigning academics hold clear and vested interest in maintenance of the Ph.D. as *the* standard for measuring intellectual competency.
4) Native American Studies personnel must utilize their base within the university to begin to extend a synthesis of existing curriculum and traditional values to the precollegiate youth. This is logically advanced, given the strategy at issue as: higher education is a tool or weapon in a current war for self-determination being waged by native indigenous peoples of this hemisphere. It is not necessarily at odds with traditional ways; as Crazy Horse and others once adapted to the rifle in order to achieve some rough parity with the U.S. army, and remained unquestionably traditional in the process, so must you adapt to the situation today. Parity must be attained in order to preserve rather than destroy the traditional ways.

5) Again, tactically, Native American Studies practitioners must seek out linkages for development of dialogue and possible coalescence of mutual interest with those divergences from European orthodoxy exhibited by Europe which most nearly intersect or potentially overlap with Native American conceptual structures. This is not to say that Native traditions may be synonymous with given Euro divergences, but that commonality may prove sufficient in some cases to warrant a complimentary strengthening of positions rather than mutual opposition of forms. It is to this potential that we turn next.

Dialectics

It would seem, upon preliminary assessment, that the most logical initial linkage to be attempted by Native American Studies programs with divergent elements within White Studies would be with adherents to the Hegelian/Marxian tradition. At first mention, this would seem to be a judgment centered upon possible commonality rendered through that tradition's (particularly Marxism's) opposition to power relations inherent to the European *status quo,* a position assumably shared by Native American Studies personnel. Such a reading is, however, superficial.

Beneath the surface of immediately visible postures is a potential for commonality at a conceptual level. Hegel, and Marx after him, relied methodologically upon what each termed the "triadic dialectic," and it is this methodology which poses the possibility of conceptual alliance in terms of developing a body of curricular counterpoint within the disciplinary content structure currently prevailing in academia.

In the sense intended by Hegel and Marx, the dialectic should convey an ontological sense of the unity or wholeness of all things; the conception that reality is not fragmentary or truly fragmentable, but that any particle of it can be properly understood only in the context of the whole. Epistmologically, dialectics properly employed implies a method of analytically dealing with bits of information in such a fashion as to reintegrate the bit with the whole; anything remaining fragmentary is construed as remaining "abstract" and thus not acceptable as a true apprehension of reality. Reality is the concrete center of all inquiry, all thought revolves around this center, all elements of thought and reality are "related."[9]

Such a conceptual apparatus clearly departs from the linear and fragmentary mainstream of European thought; it is in most of its notions opposed to European orthodoxy, and in its contours, not incompatable with Native American conceptual structure (at least as diagrammed earlier). Thus, the potential for mutually beneficial resource sharing and academic collaboration between Native American Studies programs and academics of this persuasion seems valid. Consider Marxian conceptions of relational reality to the Lakota *Metakweyase*, "all my relations," as worldview.

A major problem in this connection is that the term "Marxist" has become so distorted through misunderstanding, general popularization and intentional mislabeling that, as a term, it is virtually devoid of meaning. Even among the most serious advocates of Marxism, there seems a definite confusion as to what "dialectical practice" or conception should connote. Most Marxists, real or mis-defined, would be quite hard pressed to differentiate between their "dialectical methodology" and some of the more complex linear constructs such as co-causality, cumulative causation, or simultaneous determination of a many variable system within which no variables are predefined as dependent or independent.[10]

This suggests, among other things, that many self-styled Marxists are not at all aware of the fundamental dialectical presuppositions of their own discipline. They proceed toward "Marxist objectives" in ultimately linear fashion and are thereby not actually Marxists at all. The immediate implication of this, of course, is that Native American Studies practitioners can ill afford to accept terms or labels at face value, but must examine the conceptual practice employed by potential allies. A true Hegelian or Marxist practitioner is a relatively scarce commodity, for all the froth and jargon associated with the terms. However, when identified, true dialecticians may constitute valuable allies in anticipated academic infighting and other developmental struggles. They may well be persons with a reasonably similar vision to that proposed for Native American Studies, as are many feminist practitioners who have long maintained intellectual allegiance to Native American concepts.[11]

A Counter Model

On a less rareified level, it seems evident that concrete examples of how Native American conceptual structures can be successfully integrated with mainstream curriculum components are necessary. These should serve as indicators which can be pointed to when questions arise as to whether such a strategy can succeed, as well as laboratories in which integrative curriculum techniques can be tested and perfected.

The American Indian-EOP at the University of Colorado at Boulder has established a model or prototype which is already underway. Entitled "Science and Self-Determination: Native Americans in Science," and initially underwritten by the Fund for the Improvement of Post Secondary Education, the project is designed to bring 35 high school sophomores and juniors on campus (cost free) for an intensive 4 week science reorientation institute.

Science curriculum is composed of "culturally based" presentation units in science curriculum such as Biology and Botany developed by Don Ahshapanek (Kiowa) of the Haskell Indian Junior College. All subject matter (science units, reading comprehension, expository writing and math) is taught in an integrated curriculum format developed by Ken Wilson (formerly of Pine Hill School, New Mexico). Traditional Native American culturalists are incorporated into the institute as guest faculty, lecturers, etc.

The project also extends in-service workshops to district level counseling personnel throughout the year. These workshops are intended to assist in the development of precollegiate science orientational counseling at the grass-roots level. The counseling rationale presented is capsulized as follows:

> Native American people today constitute the most impoverished social strata or ethnic group in the United States. They lead the nation in malnutrition, in tuberculosis, in plague, in suicide, unemployment, infant mortality and a host of other maladies. Yet, paradoxically, these same people possess the largest per capita land holding in the country, under which lies some 60% of the nation's minable coal, a similar percentage of uranium and a substantial amount of oil and natural gas. The means to solve poverty for Native American people lies at their feet.
>
> But this ethnic group also leads the national statistics in terms of dropping out of the educational process. Native people hold the lowest per capita number of grade school diplomas, high school diplomas, and college degrees of any ethnic group nationally. Only .4% of all Native Americans hold any sort of graduate degree; virtually none of these graduate degrees are in the hard sciences. A consequence of this lack of technical expertise is that non-Indian concerns benefit mightily from Native American owned resources of all types while Native American people starve.
>
> The days of the cavalry wars are over. They will never return. The new warfare being waged against Native people is fought with slide rules, computers, and drilling rigs. That's how the resources within the land are stolen today. And just as fighting rifles with bows once caused Native people to lose unequal struggles to retain their homelands, so today does resisting the exploitation imposed by energy companies and others without a solid understanding of their techniques cause Native peoples to lose the benefits of their own resources, their own right to self-determination. The new battlefield is the classroom, the laboratory and the Department of Energy.
>
> Many Native youth turn from the idea of science education as something which makes them "less Indian." That's a Euro idea, not a Native idea. There's nothing "Indian" in giving up the battle for the rights of your people before you ever fight. And as it has always been, one must learn the skills of how to fight before one can hope to win. That's "Indian," quitting is not.

> Whites define science and spirituality as being separate things. Native people have never distinguished things in such separate categories. Traditional Native spirituality led Native peoples to a profound knowledge of natural reality which has never been equalled by Europe. And a profound knowledge of natural reality is science. Native people have always been scientists by way of their spirituality; the two are not separate. But, when asked by whites what their people defined as culturally valuable, traditional people have always replied "our spirituality," meaning science as spirituality in their view. Of course, the whites—since they understand things in terms of a split between scientific and spiritual knowledge—never understood this. They said, "OK, you are a spiritual people. Therefore you cannot be a scientific people." And they've spent over a century attempting to prove just that, a misunderstanding (one of many) on their part.
>
> For Native American youth to accept that in being "Indian" they are necessarily not scientists, or that if they become scientists they stop being Indian, is to accept a white explanation, a distortion, a lie. It is simply to think "white" and to abandon the needs of the people.[12]

Such a prototype seems to offer a functional model for curriculum alternatives within a broad definition of Native American Studies capable of incorporation into current academic departments. It offers a model for incorporation of academically "unqualified" traditional experts to participate directly within the instructional end of the educational process. It offers a mechanism for carrying university level developments back to the grass roots as a means of broadening the scope and impact of Native American Studies.[13] And it offers a rationale to be employed both by programs and grass roots level personnel in extending the umbrella of Native American Studies over a cluster of disciplines normally cordoned off as beyond its reach.

It should be understood, however, that the project represents little more than a feeble scratching at the door of what is needed. Similar efforts are necessary across the entire panorama of academic disciplines. Vastly more energy needs to be devoted to the development of alternative science modules, etc. Preliminary or pilot projects must be stabilized in terms of "hard money" funding, lodged within mainstream departments and long-term developmental planning must ensue. No model or prototype, or array of these, can hope to accomplish what Native American Studies *must* accomplish if it is, ultimately, to succeed in validating its existence.

Conclusion

1980 seems something of a watershed year for Native American Studies. Enough programs are currently in place and underway that program establishment no longer constitutes *the* primary agenda item (although this still is of major concern). The time has come to begin making the hard decisions as to what the function and purpose of Native American Studies can and should be. The next decade will be critical in this regard.

It seems probable that by 1990, the die will have been cast. If Native American Studies programs follow Black Studies into conscious isolation from the academic mainstream curriculum, it seems safe to predict that they will lead an existence of perpetual jeopardy and instability which renders them effectively impotent; many will probably have succumbed to budget slashes by that time. If accommodation to White Studies precepts is the route selected to insure programmatic survival, on the other hand, it seems likely that Native American Studies will be coopted into a (not necessarily intentional) validation and reinforcement of the very conceptual mode which seeks to obliterate Native America as a full-bodied cultural entity (composed of myriad subgroups).

But, if Native American Studies seeks a course of penetrating virtually all existing disciplinary categories (as an entity possessing a valid alternative perspective demanding of inclusion) then the outcome may well be different. The thrust of such a strategy is necessarily to effect fundamental change in the structure of higher education in the United States. Perhaps it is clear that such change is the only means by which the survival of Native American Studies can be assured and its existence validated relative to the cultural reality which underlies its creation.

Such a course of action may also serve to validate certain of the all too tentative probes and observations on alliance and other tactical expedients offered in this paper. It is not to be anticipated that they will be necessarily well received at this juncture. Hopefully, experience will bear them out.

NOTES

1. See Ward Churchill, "National Patterns in Contemporary Indian Studies Programs," in *Multicultural Education and the American Indian* (Los Angeles: American Indian Studies Center, UCLA, 1979).
2. See passages in Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz' hearing testimony in her (edited), *The Great Sioux Nation* (San Francisco: Moon Books, 1978).
3. See Peter Tompkins, *Mysteries of the Mexican Pyramids* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976).
4. See Vine Deloria, Jr. (ed), Jennings C. Wise, *The Red Man in the New World Drama* (New York: Macmillan, 1971).

5. See Jorge E. Harday, *Pre-Columbian Cities* (New York: Walker and Co., 1973).
6. See Dunbar Ortiz, *The Great Sioux Nation*.
7. See Brad Steiger's *Medicine Power* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974), and Alma R. Hutchins' *Indian Herbology of North America*.
8. See Donald Grinde, *The Iroquois and the Founding of the American Nation* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1978). Also see Barbara Greymount, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1972).
9. See Bertell Ollman, *Alienation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1971), for the most lucid exposition of dialectical relationality available to this writer's knowledge.
10. See Michael Albert and Robin Hahnel, *Unorthodox Marxism*, for a full elaboration of and alternatives to the problem noted here.
11. See, as but an example, Judy Chicago's inclusion of Sacajewea in her monumental "Dinner Party" mixed media project.
12. Excerpt from the text of project workshop presentation, Ward Churchill, 1980.
13. As one means of extending the reach of the project in this direction, a spin-off effort funded by the Council of Energy Resource Tribes will produce a collection of essays written by grass roots counselors and teachers in conjunction with the University of Colorado personnel. The essays shall attempt to define specific problems and means of solution relative to high school level Native American science participation. The book is scheduled for completion by early 1981.

THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITY NATIVE AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAMS IN FACILITATING TRIBAL EDUCATIONAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS FOR THE 1980'S

ROBERT M. PEREGOY

Introduction

Postsecondary educational and occupational opportunities for American Indians have greatly increased over the past decade. This burgeoning of increased opportunities is a reflection of positive responses of both the private and public sectors to the educational, economic, social, legal and cultural needs of American Indian peoples.

Since the 1960s there has been a considerable change in the expressed policy of the Federal government toward Indian people, a change that is a direct response on the part of the government to the expressed needs of Indian people and tribes for control over their own affairs. The United States government and other institutions in both the public and private sectors have begun to recognize the expressed needs set forth by Indian people as a legitimate basis for Indian social, educational, cultural and economic self-determination in this multidimensional, multicultural nation.

Education, in general, and postsecondary/higher education, specifically, have been identified by Indian people as a key vehicle to individual and tribal self-sufficiency. In response to tribally identified needs to attain

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

self-determination, and perhaps to an increased social consciousness, many of the nation's colleges and universities have developed Native American studies programs and departments since the late 1960s. These programs range from a few course offerings and student services to comprehensive curricula featuring minor, major and graduate degree programs and a wide range of student services designed to meet the unique educational needs of Indian students.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the present and potential roles of Native American Studies (NAS) programs, primarily in land-grant colleges and universities. In working with Indian tribes to facilitate tribal educational and economic development in the 1980s, the role and scope, mission and goals of the Center for Native American Studies (CNAS) at Montana State University (MSU), as well as other selected programs, will be examined as they relate to the traditional land-grant university functions of instruction, research and service. The importance of establishing effective programmatic and communication linkages between and among NAS programs, the universities and tribes comprise the initial focus. Inherent in the overall approach is the unique role of NAS programs in meeting tribally-identified needs and subsequent problems of departmental/programmatic funding. Several of these problems are presented with an examination of potential funding alternatives. Finally, as a part of the service function, the potential role of NAS programs in facilitating and supporting the development of tribally-controlled community colleges is addressed.

Linkages Between Universities and Tribes

If NAS programs and universities embody a philosophy which espouses serving the educational needs of the people of the state, it is paramount that such a philosophy include responding to tribally-identified needs and priorities of Indian tribes, particularly in the important areas of educational and economic development. If such a philosophy is espoused and is to be operationalized in a democratic, positive and affirmative fashion, effective working relationships must be established between and among NAS faculty, other university faculty and administrators, and tribal leaders. In this manner, Indian people have and can become more meaningful participants in the planning, implementation, evaluation and renewal of programs which will be reflective of and responsive to their educational and economic development needs. Failure to establish effective communication mechanisms and working relationships with tribes has resulted in irrelevant, ivory-tower programs which have no relationship to the survival and development needs articulated by Indian leaders. Disenchantment and lack of faith and credibility on the part of Indian people in traditional institutions of higher education is often the outcome.

In order to operationalize the concept of responding to tribal needs of educational and economic development, NAS programs, colleges, and universities need to incorporate this philosophy into their frames of reference, mission statements, goals, and programs. During the 1977 academic year, the departments within each college at Montana State University established role and scope documents, complete with mission statements, goals and objectives. The philosophy and practice of working with tribal groups in response to their requests is incorporated in the mission statement of the Center for Native American Studies:

> A central tenet which continues to guide the Center for Native American Studies is an adherence to the premise that the Center and MSU will be responsive to expressions from Indian tribes and groups in terms of what they want and need in the way of Indian-related programs in instruction, research, and service at MSU. By providing a vitally needed link between the Indian communities and MSU, the Center strives to extend the resources of the Center and campus faculty to its constituencies in an effort to assist individuals, both Indian and non-Indian, and Indian communities in becoming more fully-functioning, self-actualized entities, in a multicultural, multidimensional society.[1]

In an effort to provide programmatic substance to this mission statement, i.e., operationalize the concept, the CNAS faculty met extensively with each tribal council and education committee of the seven reservations in Montana to gain the active involvement in the identification, planning, and subsequent implementation, evaluation and renewal of programmatic efforts that would be responsive to the educational needs of Montana Indian peoples. A number of tribal councils and education committees passed resolutions identifying programmatic thrusts which they asked MSU to pursue to meet *their* educational and economic development needs. This input became an integral part of the CNAS Role and Scope Statement, and to date, MSU and the CNAS are progressing successfully toward implementing tribal recommendations identified during this process.

These communication linkages with tribal groups have been formalized and implemented in an on-going fashion through four primary mechanisms at Montana State University. First, the CNAS has established a statewide advisory board consisting of one member appointed by each of the seven tribal councils, as well as representatives appointed by urban and "landless" Indian organizations. The advisory board meets three times anually on the MSU campus for the purpose of on-going planning and evaluation of Center-related programs. Second, Dr. William Tietz, President of MSU, has appointed two American Indians to the MSU Advisory Council, a statewide group of influential people who meet semiannually with the MSU administration for program planning purposes. Third, the CNAS faculty and MSU administration periodically meet with tribal education and council persons to gain direction in program planning and implementation. This is accomplished through informal meetings and formal presentations at tribal education and council meetings and in conjunction with the Montana Intertribal Policy Board, a statewide policy-making body consisting of elected representatives from each of the seven tribal councils and landless Indian groups in Montana. Fourth, in on-going fashion, CNAS faculty maintain both personal and telephone contact with individual tribal leaders, program directors and educational personnel for program planning and implementation purposes.

Communication linkages result in two primary programmatic thrusts. First, tribal input facilitates the planning and development of programs within the Center for Native American Studies. Second, and equally important, such input and participation provides the opportunity for CNAS faculty to function in an initial liaison capacity between the tribes and other departments and colleges in the university. It is obvious that only a fraction of the educational needs of Indian people can be met through program offerings in NAS. The training of engineers, health personnel, agricultural scientists and business managers, for example, must be accomplished primarily through other departments and colleges. As such, CNAS faculty function as catalysts in advocating for the development of programs responsive to tribally-identified needs in other departments and colleges.

The establishment and maintenance of tribal-university linkages requires a strong commitment on the part of NAS personnel and university administrators if such linkages are to be effectively operationalized, for they are costly in terms of travel, telephone, postage, related communication supplies, administrative faculty and secretarial time. At MSU, these funds are provided through a combination of state and federal dollars. The state contribution, emanating from the President's budget and the CNAS operations budget, comprise a funding base which is built upon with federal funds. Other avenues of funding currently under "exploration" include the Cooperative Extension Service.

Through the establishment and maintenance of close working relationships with the Montana tribes, the faculty of the CNAS at Montana State University has cultivated the opportunity to establish educational programs within the CNAS and other departments which are reflective of and responsive to the unique and often pressing educational needs of Montana Indian peoples. These programs are housed under the three traditional functional areas of land-grant universities, namely instruction, research, and service

The remainder of this paper focuses on selected programs in these three areas and embodies a discussion regarding program-development funding problems and alternatives thereto.

Instruction

Montana Indian people, as well as Indian people throughout the United States, have long been concerned that curriculum offerings of the nation's school systems have not accurately portrayed their cultures and histories. Thus, perhaps one of the most obvious areas of instruction responsive to the cultural and educational needs of Indian peoples is the establishment of course offerings and minor- and major-degree programs in Native American Studies focusing on the histories, cultures, traditions, ethics, values, social structures, economics, politics, community and cultural affairs of American Indian peoples. In Montana, the genesis of such instructional programs at the postsecondary level has provided an interdisciplinary focus whereby both Indian and non-Indian students have been provided with the opportunity to enroll in a program of courses with an Indian-oriented content planned and/or taught with direct participation of tribal educational and community leaders and elders.

The development of NAS courses at MSU was a result of political action and subsequent academic planning and participation during the mid 1970s on the part of Montana Indian educators, parents and some non-Indians who were concerned that the educational attainment of Indian students and their elders lagged far behind the general population of the state and nation with respect to school enrollment, achievement as measured by standardized tests, overageness per grade level, number of years of schooling, school completion, college enrollment, college graduation and job placement. Course offerings in Native American studies at MSU were first made available on a regular basis in the mid 1970s as a part of the teacher-training program which was identified as an initial penetration point to break the vicious cycle noted above, the outcome of which was an underprepared Native American learner.

This grass-roots process designed to incorporate Indian studies into the teacher-training curriculum was aided by three landmark efforts. The first was the addition of the following provision in the 1972 redraft of the Montana Constitution:

> The State recognizes the distinct and unique cultural heritage of the American Indians and is committed in its educational goals to the preservation of their cultural integrity.[2]

The second effort was the enactment by the 1973 Legislative Assembly of House Bill 343, commonly known as the Indian Studies Law. This statute directed that by July 1, 1979, only those certified personnel who have completed training in American Indian Studies shall be employed in those schools whose Indian enrollment qualifies them to receive federal funds for Indian educational programs. The third effort was the passage of House Joint Resolution 60 by the 1973 Legislature which directed the Board of Public Education and the Board of Regents to develop a master plan for enriching the background of all public school teachers in American Indian cultures.

In response to these three landmark efforts in Indian education, a statewide advisory committee, consisting of Indian and non-Indian educators and Indian parents, was organized and developed the Indian Culture Master Plan which defined "a course of study" as six quarter credits or thirty contact hours of in-service training in Indian studies. The Plan noted that the "Board of Regents will incorporate the costs of implementing the Master Plan into its 1977 and subsequent appropriation requests to the Montana Legislature."[3]

An immediate problem which arose in identifying the costs to be incurred by the Master Plan revolved around the difficulty of estimating the number of teacher candidates enrolled in degree programs who would actually teach on or near Indian reservations. This lack of data provided an "out" for campus and university administrators in allocating funds for the implementation of the six-credit requirement. In response, the directors of the NAS programs in Montana convinced the Board of Regents to establish a policy that required all teacher candidates to complete a minimum of six credits in Indian Studies as a graduation requirement. This effort had to be accomplished in an end-run fashion around the colleges of education, the faculty of which were opposed to "state-mandated" curricula and initially generally resistant to the incorporation of multicultural education courses and requirements in the teacher education program. Notwithstanding this resistance, the six-credit graduation requirement enabled the NAS directors to identify the number of education majors at each campus and calculate the FTE needs accordingly.

Once those FTE needs were calculated, each NAS director presented their respective budgetary request to their respective college deans and campus administrators. With few exceptions and minimal success, NAS directors were told that the appropriate forum for these budgetary requests was the Board of Regents since the six-credit requirement was a result of State law and Board policy. The response, a formal presentation, complete with special data from each campus, was made to the Board of Regents in 1977. Their response was that the appropriate forum for consideration of budgetary needs and request was the budget process on the individual campuses. Thus, the Indian Culture Master Plan and NAS departments were caught in a classical Catch 22 situation and never really emerged successfully from it.

Returning to the campuses, NAS directors were confronted with the task of historical-based budgeting where FTE's were allocated to each department based on student credit hours generated in previous years. Without a historical base of student credit hours, NAS directors were forced to argue for budgetary allocations on future projections of student credit-hour generation. These arguments took place in a setting where faculty from colleges of education were undertaking efforts to convince the Board of Regents to rescind the six-credit graduation requirement, a movement that eventually was successful. Thus, NAS directors were operating in an uncertain political environment in their efforts to gain the FTE allocations to implement the Indian Culture Master Plan. Success and subsequent allocation of FTEs was minimal.

Each NAS department received approximately one FTE for purposes of implementing the Master Plan, or approximately one-third the need of each of the larger campuses. As a result, class size ranged from fifty to two-hundred, far above the ideal ceiling of thirty-five students per class for optimal learning situations in cross-cultural and multinational educational settings, a slow process when the instructor must deal with ingrained stereotypes and misconceptions about Indian Peoples and cultures. Montana State University was, perhaps, in a more fortunate position to deal with these funding problems due to a more responsive administration and some federal grant monies. Since adequate funding was not provided by the state, several courses were funded through federal dollars from a grant from the U.S. Office of Education. Although the particular proposal funded by the U.S. Office of Education included the State-mandated courses in its scope of work, the U.S. Office of Education subsequently directed MSU to cease funding lower division Indian Culture Master Plan Courses through federal dollars. The initial rationale for this funding-mix was to establish an historical base of student credit hours to be eventually picked up by the State. Yet, as was later determined, student credit hours generated through federal dollars were not recoverable from the State Legislature. Thus, the irony of the situation: to provide a quality educational program, the NAS department at MSU was forced to use federal dollars to fund courses mandated by the State

Legislature since the State did not provide adequate funds to meet student demand; yet, MSU was penalized, in effect, by the Legislature since the student credit hours generated by federal dollars were not recoverable from the State. With a relatively small department, the impact was great. The effect on the incentive to generate federal dollars for instructional purposes is obvious.

The Indian Culture Master Plan was fraught with numerous problems, the primary one which was lack of adequate funding. As a result, existing NAS faculty were required to teach more and larger courses in a mass education effort. One two-week intensive course sponsored by the University of Montana served over six hundred persons. At times, educators, both Indian and non-Indian, who were little or unqualified to teach the required subject matter were detailed to teach Indian Culture Master Plan courses. This pressure on instructors sometimes resulted in student dissatisfaction for numerous reasons. In response to public pressure from the non-Indian sector, the 1979 Legislature repealed House Bill 343 enacted by the 1973 Legislature, rendering the Indian State Law permissive rather than mandatory.

Notwithstanding this process, Indian people in Montana remain intent upon attracting qualified teachers sensitive to the unique educational and cultural needs of their children. At this juncture, what can be accomplished in Montana and other states with similar goals? NAS faculty can work with faculty from colleges of education to incorporate NAS courses into the general education requirements in the teacher education program; similarly, they can work with faculty from other colleges such as liberal arts, engineering, agriculture and business, to incorporate NAS courses into the general education requirements of those colleges. At Montana State University, the Dean of the College of Education sends a letter to teacher candidates at the beginning of each school year encouraging them to enroll in NAS courses to satisfy the multicultural education requirement in the teacher education program. This has enhanced the overall education of teacher candidates, and has increased the enrollment in NAS courses.

In addition to well-qualified and sensitive teachers, Indian educational leaders and parents in Montana desire to have Indian studies courses in the elementary and secondary schools on the reservations. Teaching minors and/or majors in Indian Studies offered at the college/university level are the primary vehicle for accomplishing this, yet this process has not blossomed in Montana as it should or could. The University of Montana is the only post-secondary institution in Montana presently offering a teaching minor in Native American Studies. Other institutions have not adopted teaching minors in this area since the State Department of Public

Instruction does not certify teacher candidates with a teaching minor in Native American Studies. Personnel from the Office of Public Instruction argue that there is inadequate demand for teachers in Native American Studies in the field, and hence there is no justification for certification in Native American Studies. Certification standards for public school teachers in Montana presently contain no provision for certification in Native American Studies. The cycle runs full circle when one realizes that colleges of education are reluctant to establish teaching minors in areas where there are no provisions for certification of personnel, since to offer a teaching education with no certification would be a "disservice" to the teacher candidate in terms of job preparation and marketability.

Thus, to penetrate the cycle, NAS faculty must join forces with tribal council leaders, Indian education personnel and parents to incorporate Indian studies into the accreditation standards of public schools, establish certification mechanisms and eventually Indian Studies course offerings will lead to certification. The process is long and arduous, yet must be undertaken if NAS course offerings are to culminate in meaningful outcomes, responsive to the educational needs of Indian peoples. The establishment of teaching minors in Native American Studies will increase enrollment in existing courses, thereby generating additional student credit hours and possibly justifying the allocation of additional FTE's.

In addition to offering Native American Studies courses as a part of teacher-training programs, NAS faculty, as a response to tribally-identified needs, can establish within their own structures both minor and degree programs. In Montana, American Indian tribal groups have identified tribal priorities for educational, economic, and socio-cultural development in their quest for self-determination as individuals, communities, and tribes in this multi-cultural, multi-dimensional society. Over the past decade, corresponding employment opportunities in Indian affairs have increased at the tribal, local, state, regional and national levels. These positions increasingly require a background in Native American Studies including courses in federal Indian policy, law and the American Indian, tribal governmnet, community development, Indian health affairs, program development and proposal writing, economic development, tribal economics and the like. With a formal background in these areas, both Indian and non-Indian students increase their employability in tribally-related settings and, hence, are in a more qualified position to provide a meaningful service to their employers and Indian communities. Concomitant with this approach is the relatively new emphasis on cooperative education and internship programs designed to provide the learner with the opportunity to gain academic credit while working in a professional setting, thereby blending theory with practice prior to graduation. The minor in NAS at Montana State University provides the opportunity for internship credit for students desiring to work with an Indian-related program. Such an arrangement allows the sponsoring agency to gain from the contributions of student interns, while simultaneously allowing the student to gain first-hand insight into the realities of the world of work while, hopefully, cultivating employment opportunities to be taken advantage of after graduation.

In an era of declining enrollments and increasing entrenchment in higher education, it is difficult to gain the allocation of "new" FTE's in any department in a college or university. Maintenance of existing FTE's is often the goal, Native American Studies programs and/or departments included. Reallocation of faculty time within departments may be necessary in order to maintain instructional programs in a time of retrenchment. For example, in order to maintain a minor or degree program, NAS faculty may be required to devote more time to teaching and less time to research and/or service. Other funding alternatives may include the addition of appropriate courses to the minor/major from other departments such as History, Sociology, Anthropology and/or Economics. The securing of "soft" monies as "seed" dollars to establish a track record of student credit hour generation to be subsequently assumed by the "hard dollar" instructional budget are other alternatives, although fraught with potential problems, as noted above.

In order to address fully the educational needs of Indian people that can be met on the campuses of the nation's colleges and universities, Indian people and NAS faculty must work closely with faculty in other departments and colleges that have course offerings and degree programs that Indian people want and need. For example, the NAS faculty at MSU has collaborated with the College of Business and Engineering to establish pre-college undergraduate and graduate programs in business and engineering. The development of these programs is in direct response to tribal requests in an effort to provide instructional programs responding to their economic development needs. Other universities have undertaken similar ventures. Unfortunately, such programmatic thrusts usually must be funded extramurally since they are "special" educational ventures outside the regular departmental offerings. As such, the art of grantmanship and proposal writing is often a necessary qualification if such efforts are to be successfully developed.

The foregoing perspectives on instruction have been limited to campus-based programs. The area of continuing education with course delivery off-campus in reservation settings continues to hold much promise in serving the educational and economic needs of Indian tribes, communities, and reservations. The Center for Native American Studies at

MSU has facilitated the delivery of undergraduate and graduate course offerings in Education, Business, and Native American Studies on several reservations in Montana. This has provided the opportunity for reservation learners to receive university instruction, thereby improving their skills and qualifications while remaining active in employment and community affairs at home. Oftentimes the delivery of continuing education courses can be self-supporting through individual tuition fees and/or federal grants to the university and/or tribes. The planning and implementation of such courses further strengthens the bonds between tribes and universities inasmuch as the courses are specifically designed with tribal input to meet immediate Indian educational needs.

This section of the paper on instruction has outlined several areas in which NAS and other university faculty have and can continue to offer instructional services on and off campus in an effort to meet the educational and economic development needs of American Indians. The next section in briefer fashion addresses selected areas of research which NAS faculty and others may focus upon in meeting tribally-identified needs and priorities in educational and economic development.

Research

The role of Native American Studies programs and faculty in undertaking research that can lead to the facilitation of tribal educational and economic development is outlined here. It is a well-known fact that much of America's untapped natural resources lie within the exterior boundaries of Indian lands. Tribal energy resources include approximately 40 percent of this country's uranium reserves, 13 percent of all U.S. coal reserves and 4 percent of the country's oil and gas reserves.[4,5] Applied research accomplished with the involvement of Indian people in all phases is necessary if wise decisions regarding energy-related economic development are to be undertaken in a manner that will achieve an acceptable balance between the need for economic development and self-sufficiency, while simultaneously protecting the environment, land base and Indian culture in a setting of development. Research focusing on the histories and policy of underdevelopment such as that undertaken and compiled by the Native American Studies Program at the University of New Mexico *(Economic Development in American Indian Reservations)*[6] is an example of an excellent compendium of papers on reservation economic development published under the auspices of a major Native American Studies Program.

Applied research activities undertaken by Indian-related programs have focused on business feasibility studies, efficiency of institutional/organizational relationships, resource base inventory, energy development strategies, recreation market research, taxation policies, and long-range resource planning, as well as other areas. The funding of comprehensive research programs in the area of energy and/or economic development through state university sources in a time of retrenchment presents problems, particularly when it is realized that many state university budgets are funded by enrollment-driven formulae which emphasize classroom instruction at the expense of research and service. Extra-mural funding sources such as the Economic Development Administration have been tapped to fund programs focusing on economic development research and service activities.

Similar to undertaking research in the area of economic development, there is a great need for and potential for education-related research to be undertaken on Indian reservations. Educational and sociological literature is replete with studies on the educational attainment and achievement of Indian students; it is not the purpose of this paper to belabor the point. Tribal groups in Montana have identified a need for more applied educational research that will lead to educational program development on the reservations. Research in the areas of education and community needs assessments, educational and occupational aspirations and expectations, and educational program evaluation have been identified as priority areas. The funding of such ventures can be accomplished through a variety of ways. First, the allocation of faculty time, where possible, can comprise one avenue. Second, such efforts can be supported by extramurally-funded grants to the universities, tribal groups or technical assistance firms.

This section has presented selected areas of research which NAS and university faculty have undertaken and can continue to undertake in response to the educational and economic development needs of tribal groups in the 1980s. The next and and final section focuses on the area of service to tribal groups and concentrates primarily on the educational realm, that of facilitating the development of tribally-controlled community colleges.

Service

For the purposes of this paper, the area of service will focus on faculty service to tribal groups rather than on student service programs, although student retention, tutoring and counseling programs are integral components of many Native American Studies programs. In implementing MSU's service relationship to the tribes, state, region and nation, the CNAS faculty has adhered to the premise that the Center and MSU need to be responsive to expressions from the Indian community in meeting tribally-identified needs and priorities in educational, cultural and economic development. A major thrust of the Center's service activities the past three years has been to support and facilitate the development of the five Indian Community colleges in Montana where and when requested and appropriate.

Facilitating the organizational relationship of the units the Montana University System, the three non-Indian community colleges and the five tribally-controlled community colleges has been a primary service function of the Center for Native American Studies the past three years. During 1977-79, the CNAS organized and hosted several statewide meetings and conferences consisting of top-level administrators of these institutions to plan initial cooperative relationships and link postsecondary delivery mechanisms to Montana Indian communities. The *Final Report: To Strengthen Local Economic and Human Resource Development through Indian Community Colleges in the Old West Region*[8] prepared by the American Indian Higher Education Consortium, identifies the necessary and potential roles of Indian Community colleges in facilitating tribal educational and economic development. NAS programs and faculty, as functional parts of fully-accredited state institutions of higher education, are in a prime position to assist with the development of tribally-controlled community colleges in their quest to establish the four traditional functions of community colleges: transfer, vocational, adult, and community service educational programs. Perhaps the most crucial areas in Indian community college development in Montana involve the transfer of credits.

Another area of service with regard to the transfer function which NAS programs in the Montana University Systems are providing includes the coordination of course development and course syllabi of Native American Studies courses. Efforts are presently underway in conjunction with the tribally-controlled community colleges to establish common (as common as possible) course syllabi for lower division and upper division NAS courses in an effort to facilitate the transfer process. It is anticipated that this effort will have carryover benefits and serve as a model for similar needed ventures to be undertaken by other departments. In carrying out the service function in this area, the Center for Native American Studies has participated in a facility exchange with Salish Kootenai Community College (SKCC) where an associate professor of NAS at MSU spent one quarter in residency on the Flathead Reservation assisting SKCC personnel in organizing their Native American Studies department.

Concomitant with this approach is the joint planning of four-year degree programs in such areas as engineering, business, and agriculture. The first two years under the auspices of the four-year colleges and universities. Again, joint planning will facilitate the transfer process.

Other areas of service which NAS programs can provide to reservation-based educational programs include technical assistance, program planning and proposal writing and program evaluation. Faculty of the Center for Native American Studies at MSU have written the vocational and adult education programs of one tribally-controlled community college and conducted several program evaluations of Indian community college programs. These service activities have been funded through a combination of university, federal and tribal dollars.

This section has focused on the role of NAS programs in facilitating the development of tribally-controlled community colleges in Indian country in Montana. Cooperative working relationships in the areas of the transfer function and vocational and adult education were outlined in an effort to delineate the areas where NAS faculty can be supportive of the developmental efforts of tribally-controlled community colleges.

Summary

If Native American Studies programs desire to establish and conduct educational programs that will be responsive to the educational and economic development needs of American Indian Tribes, it is necessary that they develop communication and effective working linkages with tribal groups. Through the establishment and maintenance of such linkages, NAS programs will gain invaluable input that will affect programmatic direction and offerings in the areas of instruction, research and service relevant to tribally-identified needs and priorities. This paper has examined selected programmatic efforts undertaken primarily by the Center for Native American Studies at Montana State University in an effort to respond to Indian educational needs in Montana.

NOTES

1. *Center for Native American Studies Role Scope Statement* (Bozeman, MT: Center for Native American Studies, Montana State University, 1977), p. 1.
2. *Indian Culture Master Plan* (Helena, MT: Board of Education, State of Montana, 1975), p. 3.

3. Ibid, p. 95.
4. U.S. Congress, American Indian Policy Review Commission, *Final Report* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), pp. 338–39.
5. A. T. Anderson, "Editorial: Self Sufficiency through Education," *Quality Newsletter of Minorities in Engineering,* Washington National Research Council, 4(1) (Winter 1978): 3.
6. *Economic Development in American Indian Reservations* (Albuquerque: Native American Studies, University of New Mexico, 1979).
7. Perry Horse. *Final Report: To Strengthen Local Economic and Human Development Through Indian Community Colleges in the Old West Region* (Denver: American Indian Higher Education Consortium, 1979).

". . . In The Spirit of Our Grandmothers And Grandfathers . . . Let Us Reach For A Better Tomorrow": THE HISTORY, STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE INDIAN STUDIES DEPARTMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

JEANNE M. OYAWIN EDER

The students at the University of North Dakota annually hold their *Wacipi* or "Time Out Week." The purpose of their week of activities, much like that here in Los Angeles, is to maintain an awareness with the past and the present through the examination of the rich cultural heritage of their Indian ancestors and the transition to current trends in contemporary Indian Affairs. Last year, the student's theme for their conference was a theme most appropriate to the historical development of the overall Indian programs on that campus. That theme is the title of this paper. It depicts the strength, the hope, and the commitment of the Indian students on today's college campus.

The development of Indian studies programs comes at a time of Indian self-awareness and self-determination. One of the objectives is to provide the American Indian student with the necessary knowledge and skill to work with Indian people in the Indian community. The way to do this is for colleges and universities to develop and implement academically excellent and meaningful Indian studies programs.

With this in mind, the students of the University of North Dakota, the faculty, the administrators and friends all set forth on what has been a ten year journey to effect a positive change of a total academic picture.

Among those supporters was Bernard Kahrahrah, a Comanche from Oklahoma. He directed the Indians in Medicine Program (INMED) at

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

the University of North Dakota and he drew an analogy between his life as an American Indian and what an Indian Studies department should be. He said that in his life there were four areas of importance: power, beauty, spirit, and perception. It was his hope that one could look at these areas and keep them in mind as a way to develop a strong base for an academic department that would someday stand forth on its own merits. It was his hope for that "better tomorrow."

It is most difficult to note exactly when the University of North Dakota began considering establishing an Indian Studies program. Perhaps one could say that the need was always there as the State of North Dakota is located in the heart of Indian Country. The name of the state itself is derived from the Dakota Sioux word "Odakota"—meaning a state or condition of peace—thereby giving rise to the fact that the tradition of Indian people is an important part of the state's heritage.

About fifty years ago, students at the University of North Dakota in Grand Forks changed the name of their athletic team from the "Flickertails" (state bird) to "The Fighting Sioux." This is another item that must be dealt with, but at that time university officials noted that there were few if any Indian students on campus. Furthermore, there was no real serious academic attention given to the cultural contributions of the original inhabitants of the state. It was a beginning!

One of the criticisms expressed by Indian educators in regards to issues and problems of higher education is the dynamics of racism brought on by the institutions. By this is meant that new courses are initiated, and old courses are abandoned or modified largely without student input in the decision-making process. This problem has been challenged. In 1969-71 a group of Indian students founded the University of North Dakota Indian Association. They met with university officials to get an Indian Studies program started and on August 1, 1971 the Office of Indian Studies programs was created through authorization from the state legislature.

The director of the program had five main objectives:

1. To serve as a counselor for the students and to represent them in their dealings with the administration and faculty.
2. To serve as an advisor with students in arranging classes.
3. To serve as a spokesman to the faculty and administration in regard to problems of Indians in North Dakota. This meant opening up lines of communication.
4. To be knowledgeable about federal and private agencies with reservations and the university.
5. To coordinate development of university programs in adult education projects.

Despite the newness of the Office of Indian Studies in 1971, five classes were offered that applied directly to the interest of the Indian students. An Oglala Sioux, Art Raymond, was the first instructor and director. He was to play a primary role in the evolution of the academic department.

The role of the students remained strong in their commitment. On September 29-30, 1972, the Indian Cultural Center was dedicated and formally named on campus. The Center serves as the nucleus of both social and educational programs for the Indian students. In maintaining the tie to tradition, the center was dedicated and named by a medicine man from the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation. Joe Black Bear, Hidatsa-Mandan, gave the cultural center the name *"Meto Ta Tanke"* or "East Village." It is so given because of its unique location both on campus and within the state. It lies east of all Indian programs on campus and east of the four reservations in the state. East, one of the four directions, traditionally symbolizes the source of renewal of life. Joe Black Bear asked that the Indian students use the *Meto Ta Tanke* to share the knowledge learned among them and to create unity of all tribes.

The Fall of 1973 saw another breakthrough when a minor in Indian Studies was established. However, the Indian students themselves had supported a major in Indian Studies. An Ad Hoc Committee was formed to assess the feasibility of a major in Indian Studies. With strong support from both the university President and Vice-President of Academic Affairs, a committee was formed from a representative cross section of the university. Bernard O'Kelly, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, had always hoped for the birth of an Indian Studies department since his appointment in 1966. It was presumed that if a major were implemented it would find a home in the College of Arts and Sciences. The recommendation of the committee was that a Department of Indian Studies be created within the College of Arts and Sciences and that a major be offered in Indian Studies. The vote was unanimous but the struggle was only beginning. The entire Indian student body was surveyed for accurate reflection of their ideas.

In 1975 Art Raymond submitted a separate bill to the State Legislature for the establishment of an expanded Indian Studies program, including a major. The bill was passed but without any appropriations attached to it.

It was a setback, but it gave the university time to do some further planning for the implementation of the Indian Studies department. Goals had to be established, curriculum planned, and faculty sought. In 1977 a comprehensive Indian studies bill was submitted to the State Legislature. It was given number one priority by the University, Senate, Administration, the State Board of Higher Education as well as the Governor's

Excutive Budget Committee. It passed the Senate, passed the House Appropriation Committee by a narrow 12 to 9 vote, and then passed the full House. As Art Raymond put it, "We fought it down to the wire."

On July 1, 1977, Indian Studies received departmental status and offered several program options with a major and minor course of study.

Perhaps the goal statement will give a broader picture. The goal of the program has been established to meet various needs both on campus and throughout the state. For the Native American student, the major in Indian Studies with its various options, is intended to provide: (1) a more complete understanding of Indian history and culture; (2) practical experience for those who aspire to leadership in reservation communities; and (3) a basis for employment in either reservation or non-reservation settings. For the greater university community, the core courses in Indian Studies provide an important additional means of understanding American History. The involvement in the program of students and faculty from several academic disciplines is one basis for greater understanding, and the research conducted or sponsored by the Department of Indian Studies is an equally vital part of an expanded approach to the study of American culture since 1607. A third purpose of the program is to enable the university to serve the reservation communities more completely than before, especially in terms of their educational programs. The Center of Teaching and Learning and the Northern Great Plains Teacher Corps began this task, and as the Indian Studies Program develops, more basic information, teaching materials, and staff assistance will be available to Indian schools and to reservation community leaders. In summary, the goals of the Indian Studies Program are the long-standing goals of the University—teaching and learning, research and service.

A major in Indian Studies requires 34 semester credit hours of the 125 hours a student must complete to graduate from the university. Included are courses offered by the Indian Studies Department and specified courses which relate to Indian topics in other departments and schools.

Among course titles listed under Indian Studies are Introduction to Indian Studies, Contemporary Indian Issues, Cultural Use of Plants and Herbs, Native American Art, History of American Indian Policy, American Indian Law, Survey of Chippewa History, History of the Three Affiliated Tribes, Urban Indian Studies, and Contemporary Native American Literature.

Students electing to follow the disciplinary major program are encouraged or strongly urged to combine this with another major, according to their special interests and career aspiration or with very strong minors—e.g., Accounting, Management, Social Work, Computer Science, etc.

A special feature of the department is that each student will be required to do a practicum. It was felt that the academic program should also provide some practical education or education so that students would graduate with some expertise to be of some help back in the Indian communities. It is believed that this can be done through field experience, the use of a practicum, or thoroughly involving the students in research. It is the students who initiate the practicum portion, once again emphasizing their involvement in the decision-making process.

Today the University enrolls about 300 American Indian students and operates a variety of student service and educational programs geared to the needs of the Indian students. Among these programs are the Student Opportunity Program which provides special services such as tutoring, counseling and study skills; Indians in Medicine, designed to guide Indian students into the health professions; the Teacher Corp Program, implemented to prepare teachers at home on the reservation to work in schools. The objective is not one of homogeneity of the tribal groups for each of the tribes is unique.

On July 1, 1980, the Indian Studies Department will be three years old. It has 3 full-time tenure track faculty positions and 2 part-time faculty positions. One of the part-time faculty is the Chairman of the Department. Two of the faculty at this time teach a course in the disciplines from which they received their doctoral degrees.

Last year a new dimension was added to the teaching of Indian Studies when the State Teachers Association passed a resolution requiring that all teachers, as a part of graduate certification, have two credits of Indian Studies or Multi-Cultural Education. How this is going to be done throughout the state is yet to be seen. At any rate there are lessons to be learned from our sister states who have been through similar processes.

Lest you think at this time that this is a recruitment campaign, let me again stress that the subject of Indian Studies Programs is a difficult reality on many university and college campuses in the United States. I have listened to many Indian educators who have elaborated on the needs for, the contributions of, and problems of such academic programs.

It is my wish to share with you a glimpse of one program's goals, aspirations, and difficulties in the formulation and maintenance of an Indian Studies Department. We were never alone and even today the students are continuing to exercise their rights of self-determination. They want more research, they want to learn to lobby for Indian issues, they want field trips, and as they voiced it, ". . . In the Spirit of Our Grandmothers and Grandfathers. . . We want to reach out for that better tomorrow." So too may we all go forth.

III

NATIVE AMERICANS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank

NATIVE AMERICANS IN HIGHER EDUCATION: RATIONALE AND RETENTION

MORGAN OTIS

Rationale

Historically the education system in America has been the main vehicle by which culture is passed from one generation to the next. Unfortunately, the system is monocultural in nature and concerns itself exclusively with Western-European culture and thought while desregarding other ethnic groups in America.

Given the existence of other strong and viable cultural groups within and separate from the major white cultural group, it would seem only natural to include these groups in the educational system—establish them as fields worthy of study—as part of the learning process for all students. Frankly, this has not taken place and as a consequence all society suffers. Our ethno-minorities suffer because they must face an educational system that ignores their culture and the contributions these groups have made. The non-ethnic minority student suffers for he remains in a state of ignorance about people who preceded him in this country, who have contributed to its growth, and who continue to contribute. Both groups suffer because of the misconceptions and fears that abound when knowledge is suppressed or ignored. This "suppression of knowledge" has operated as a strong educational deterrent to Native Americans in higher education.

The previous numbered page in
the original document was blank

However, before we examine the higher education needs of the Native American, the problem he faces and some of the solutions to those problems, it is necessary to understand a typical American public school education Native Americans generally receive.

"Until very recently, most children on Indian reservations and in many urban areas received their formal education in federal boarding and day schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1910, the Bureau had written: The task of education is to provide the needed development which supplies the lacks, caused by a faculty environment, so that the Indian child may be brought up to that standard of cleanliness, order, regularity and discipline which the public schools presupposes in its white children. The task is changing a way of living. Thus, it is not surprising that Bureau education in the boarding schools was characterized by harsh discipline, military drill, use of cast-off army clothing, self-support from farm and herd, rural vocational training unrelated to employment on the reservation or in the cities, and purposeful separation of children from home and family."[1]

"The schools are located in remote and poor areas. In some districts, students ride buses for three hours every day. . . . The dropout rate is usually high at all the schools. Using one all Indian non-reservation public school as an example, only four children graduated in 1967 out of an initial class of 16, four were still in school but behind their grade, and the other eight children had dropped out. Only three children graduated in 1968 out of an initial class of 15. These dropout rates of 50% and 80% are by no means unusual. Most surveys have estimated the national dropout rate for Indian school children in all types of schools to be 60%."[2]

"Teacher turnover is also very high at most of the schools; at schools in remote areas the turnover may rise as high as 70% annually, and, in one case, has been 90% for the past two years. The teachers at the schools have a number of characteristics in common. They are either quite young or quite old with very few in the age range 30-45. As a result, a large number of the teachers are either inexperienced, or else teach according to precepts and methods learned at a time when educational philosophy was radically different from today. Most of the teachers received their education in small teacher colleges in the state in which the school is located even though the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools theoretically draw teachers from anywhere in the United States. The majority have only a bachelors degree or less."[3]

Given this type of background, it is little wonder that few Native Americans continue on into higher education. And if an especially tenacious Native American person does escape the dulling forces of a public high school, what can he hope to find at the college level. Can he expect that the educational system that has refused to recognize his culture, his way of life as an important, viable and major part of the American experience has changed? Can he expect classes that recognize the contributions in History, Art, Music, Medicine, etc., his people have made? Can he expect classes that will take into consideration his educational background and provide him with the skills and curriculum necessary to succeed at the college level? Can he expect instructors that are versed enough in Native American culture to enable them to relate to him and the unique and overwhelming problems he faces in the classroom? The answer for the majority of colleges and universities in the United States is *no!*

The education system in most of the colleges is an extension of the high school system and as such, is a continuation of the same course rigidity and mono-cultural emphasis as the lower grades.

All this is not to prove the American higher education system to be totally inadequate. What it does suggest is that the system needs changing, that the narrow viewpoint it now clings to needs to be broadened. The curriculum and programs need to be developed to facilitate education along a more relevant and meaningful path.

Retention

It has been determined by the Native American Studies program, California State University, Sacramento, that success in retention of Indian students has been the direct result of having a meaningful Native American Studies program and a strong student organization. Courses developed by and taught by Native American faculty members have given the curriculum authenticity and academic quality.

The Native American Indian Alliance student organization has been very instrumental in assisting in curriculum development, but they have also been instrumental in helping to retain other Indian students.

There should also be mentioned the valuable part the Educational Opportunity Program has played in the retention of Indian students. Most important has been the **financial** and **tutorial** assistance. Without financial aid through the Educational Opportunity Program and the Bureau of Indian Affairs many students would have withdrawn from the University mainly due to lack of funds. The financial assistance will continue to be a critical need for Indian students who enter and remain in a state college or university (see 1980-EOP and Financial Aid Data in the Appendix).

The tutorial services have been an important factor in retaining Indian students in college. This has been partly due to the fact that the Educational Opportunity Program at California State University, Sacramento, has hired Indian upper division students as advisors and counselors.

Recommendations

The most critical need at present for Indian students in a state college or university is financial assistance. It is recommended the highest priority be given to obtaining financial grants for Indian students. It is further recommended that these financial grants to Indian students not come in the form of loans. The rationale on this point is that the majority of Indian students do not have the necessary finances, and to saddle them with a loan just creates an added mental and financial burden. There is an added burden of repayment of the loan, especially if the Indian student drops out of college.

The academic needs of Native American students fall into three basic areas:

1. There is a need for skills and curriculum that would help to make up the deficiencies many Native Americans bring with them from high school. Guided studies courses are presently available but a recent survey by the Native American Studies Office on the California State University, Sacramento campus seems to indicate the need for some revision in these areas. Diagnostic testing may prove to be of value in ascertaining the extent and types of academic deficiencies Native Americans are saddled with and may provide new and more effective directions for dealing with these deficiencies.
2. There is a strong need for culture to be included as part of the standard curriculum. Native American tribal groups are an important field of study that has suffered in large part due to the lack of scholarly material presently available on the subject. When this is corrected through tribal oral history, Native American Studies will begin to emerge as a discipline. This culture-curriculum need is four-fold. It is necessary that Native Americans have the opportunity to study their own culture, take classes in History, Art, Music, etc., that have some relevance to them. This curriculum is necessary because it helps to raise Native American culture and thought to the level it should have occupied all along, that of a viable and essential part and counterpart of the Western-European experience in the Americas. There is a strong secondary need for Native American culture-curriculum. Many of the fears and misconceptions non-Indian have about Indians and that Indians have about themselves stem from ignorance. The courses would provide an opportunity to correct these misconceptions and hopefully, "present the *true* history of this country." A result of this action is the help these courses would be to the prospective social worker, teacher, engineer, etc., who may plan to work on or near an Indian reservation or with Indian people. These

subjects would further provide the knowledge and insight into the Native American experience that is essential for a non-Indian to comprehend before he/she can begin to understand an Indian community.

3. There is a tremendous need for Indian faculty. Presently, there are very few Indian faculty people. The Indian faculty member would not only improve the quality of the curriculum, but they would be able to serve as counselors and role models to Indian students.

If financial assistance and the academic needs of the Indian college students are met, then most likely, the retention factor of these students is greatly enhanced.

NOTES

1. Francis McKinley, Stephen Bayne, and Glen Nimicht, ***Who Should Control Indian Education*** (Berkeley: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research & Development, 1970).
2. ***Ibid.*** National Indian Training and Research Center, Tempe, Arizona.
3. Ibid.

Total EOP admissions since Fall 1968	=	3613	6%
Total Native American admissions since Fall 1968 (EOP)	=	204	
Total EOP graduates since Fall 1968	=	686	3%
Total Native American graduates since Fall 1968	=	19	
Total Native American admissions since Fall 1968	=	204	9%
Total Native American graduates since Fall 1968	=	19	

TABLE 1 California State University—Sacramento EOP Admissions, 1968–1980

Semester	*Total Admits** *(Enrolled)*	*Native Americans*	*Graduated*
Fall 1968	54	0	
Spring 1969	16	0	
Fall 1969	179	9 (5%)	1
Spring 1970	30	0	
Fall 1970	240	26 (11%	6
Spring 1971	24	2 (8%)	5
Fall 1971	334	24 (7%)	1
Spring 1972	27	5 (19%)	2
Fall 1972	236	16 (7%)	1
Spring 1973	43	6 (14%)	1
Fall 1973	196	9 (5%)	
Spring 1974	122	8 (7%)	1
Fall 1974	236	13 (6%)	
Spring 1975	114	3 (3%)	
Fall 1975	327	18 (6%)	
Spring 1976	71	3 (4%)	1
Fall 1976	315	15 (5%)	
Spring 1977	75	4 (5%)	
Fall 1977	242	14 (6%)	
Spring 1978	62	6 (10%)	
Fall 1978	239	6 (3%)	
Spring 1979	60	1 (2%)	
Fall 1979	276	6 (2%)	
Spring 1980	95	10 (11%)	
Totals	3613	204	19

*This figure includes readmits so returning students might have been counted more than once.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TABLE 2 California State University—Sacramento
Native American Enrollment and Graduates

Native American Students Enrolled in California State Universities and Colleges' System and California State University, Sacramento Receiving Financial Assistance

	CSUC	*CSUS*
1970–71	320	19
1971–72	489	59
1972–73	421	39
1973–74	405	27
1974–75	281	22
1975–76	327	31
1976–77	306	29
1977–78	325	20
1978–79	260?	16

A DESCRIPTION OF GRADUATE TRAINING REQUIREMENTS FOR FUTURE ADMINISTRATORS OF EDUCATION FOR AMERICAN INDIANS

GRAYSON NOLEY

The purpose of this paper is to describe a program of graduate training in education for American Indians that now is complete in its tenth consecutive year of successful operation. It is important that programs such as this be described in detail so that other institutions might see some benefit in replication portions or parts of the program structure.

This paper is divided into six parts. The first discusses use of resources; the second, program techniques; the third, training applicability for needs in Indian education; fourth, how cultures and heritage are taken into account; fifth, a brief discussion of costs; and sixth, a discussion of the required institutional commitment.

First, however, it is important to provide an overview of the program being discussed. The Native American Leadership Training Program at The Pennsylvania State University is designed to train educational leaders in the areas of Educational Administration and Curriculum and Instruction. The program is national in scope and to this date has served 107 students from forty-four tribes, twenty-one states, nineteen reservations, numerous distinct Indian communities, and several urban areas. Its graduates are now serving Indian education in twenty-two states and the District of Columbia as superintendents, principals, executive directors, professors, and in leading roles in public, federal, and tribal institutions. Excluding those serving in administrative positions in federal, tribal, or state governments, Penn State graduates are now directly serving an estimated 13,000 American Indian school children in twenty-two states.

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

Use of Resources

The Penn State Native American Leadership Training Program, throughout its history, has strived to maintain a high level of contact and association with the many Indian nations in various parts of the United States. Because it is national in scope, the Penn State program has enjoyed the unique opportunity to serve a wide variety of Indian people representing diverse tribal backgrounds and geographic areas. Due to this wide area of service, the Penn State program has gained benefit from the input, both direct and indirect, from the tribes served as well as others. Testimony to the contact with and knowledge of this program is contained in letters of endorsement from a number of tribal organizations which have been served by the Penn State Native American Program.[1]

Representatives of many tribes and organizations have come to Penn State, without remuneration except for minimum expenses, to speak and consult with program participants. The advice, guidance, and expertise of each of these individuals has been used to enhance the overall development of the Penn State Native American Program.

In addition to those who actually have come to Penn State, many others have been consulted by staff and students while in attendance at the national meetings of such organizations as the National Indian Education Association, National Congress of American Indians, American Indian Higher Education Consortium, and others. An annual trip to Washington, D.C., gives staff and students the opportunity to consult with others representing such groups as the National Advisory Council on Indian Education and the National Education Association. Similarly, an annual trip to reservations in western New York and Canada fulfills a two-fold purpose. First, it enables students to have an on-site observational experience with the schools serving those reservations and, second, it enables both students and staff to consult with tribal officials concerning problems and needs in Indian education in those areas. Often it is discovered that requirements for the further development of Indian education in the areas visited are similar to needs found on other reservations and distinct Indian communities. Students and staff also discover differences. All these experiences are returned to Penn State and contribute to the overall development of the program emphasis as well as the individual students.

Finally, the Penn State Native American Program has worked closely with various officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and has been advantaged by their provision of planning documentation and by their direct assistance to many of our present and former students. Cooperation with the Bureau has resulted in benefits to the development of programs and policies for federally operated schools due to the hiring of many Penn State graduates for important educational posts with that agency.

The Penn State Native American Program is institutionalized to the extent that it has at its disposal all the resources of the University in the same manner as other academic or administrative units. This includes, but is not limited to, access to such diverse service components as Computer Services, University Division of Instructional Services, Public Information Office, Audio-Visual Services, etc. Students, being regularly admitted, have access to all normal services, such as the health facility, the University library system, student centers for relaxation and study, computer time for doctoral level students and those in specialized courses, etc. Human resources include advising, counseling (specialized if necessary), regular instruction and other services normally available for graduate students. Beyond the regular human services Native American Program participants have the added advantage of professional contact in special seminar presentations, direct assistance on the development of advanced study, and other areas which are above the normal work load of a faculty member. All of the above mentioned facilities or services are without additional cost to the program or individual student.

Most of the areas mentioned are given more detail in the sections which follow. They are important to mention here because they provide clear evidence of the maximum use of all University resources for the direct benefit of the Native American Program participants.

Program Techniques

The Penn State Native American Program incorporates a variety of concepts and techniques designed to meet current problems experienced in schools serving Indian children. These concepts and techniques may be categorized into five specific areas which embrace certain concepts along with various techniques for their application. These categories, which will be described in the order listed, are (1) curriculum, (2) extracurricular activities, (3) orientation of specific studies, (4) scholarly forums, and (5) physical properties.

In the first category, ***curriculum***, the foremost activity is the Seminar in Indian Education or Cultural Foundations of Education (CF ED) 597. This seminar, which is taken by all program participants, is designed to provide students with a wide variety of activities intended to promote individual knowledge of the present status of Indian education. These activities include a comprehensive survey of the literature wherein students review and critique research previously conducted on Indian Education. The research studied includes the more familiar studies such as the Meriam Report, Kennedy Report, Havighurst Report, American Indian Policy Review Commission Report on Indian Education, and others less well known but which focus on more specific Indian educational research areas. Additionally, the seminar focuses on studies of innovative approaches to instructional delivery and analyzes them in terms of their applicability to Native American educational needs. The subjects of these studies include such well known devices as open systems, integrated curricula, team teaching, Montessori methods, Piagetian theories, and lesser known systems such as individually guided instruction and individually prescribed education.

In this same vein, students have the opportunity to study the appropriateness of alternative systems such as survival schools, storefront academies, and other means for providing for the special needs of Native American children. The seminar also provides the opportunity to study federal incentive programs for education and utilizes various methods of doing so. In some instances students study the wide variety of programs offered by the federal government in terms of the potential benefits which might be realized by Indian nations.

In exercises of proposal writing, students become familiar with federal regulations of several offerings such as Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and Title IV, or the Indian Education Act. Students familiarize themselves with the regulations for specific parts of these congressional enactments to the extent that they are able to write sound and rational programs for the improvement of Indian education.

Another approach to understanding federal policy is through the review and analysis of significant congressional enactments and other federal actions which reflect government directions in Indian education. Included in these studies are the 1819 "Civilization Act," the removal policies of the Jackson administration, Grant's "Peace Policy," the Dawes Severalty Act, the Dawes Commission, the Wheeler-Howard Act, Johnson O'Malley Act, the termination period, Indian Education Act, Self-Determination Act, and the numerous treaties which served to commit the United States to the financial support of Indian education. Also included in these studies are the major research activities listed earlier.

Conceptually, the act of bringing together Indian students from varied tribal backgrounds provides a unique opportunity for the sharing of a variety of experiences and cultural similarities as well as differences. The seminar is a forum which allows students to learn about trends in Indian education and to discover the specific needs of the tribes represented. The format of the seminar permits each individual to select a specific area of study each term. The prepared papers are presented orally and critiqued by another seminar participant who also serves as the leader for the discussion on that topic. Because the discussion leader also must be familiar with the report he or she has critiqued, each individual becomes extremely knowledgeable about two studies. The oral presentation and discussion allows each participant to have an in-depth exposure to as many different areas of study as there are members of the seminar. In addition to the student presentations, other studies or areas of concern in Indian education are given by selected guests, many of whom have been nationally known figures in Indian education and by faculty members who have studied areas of Indian education policy.

The success of this format is, perhaps, best measured by the manner in which it has been replicated. It has been highly acclaimed by Penn State faculty and administration as a means of integrating a standard curriculum with specific cultural knowledge demands. It is considered to be a vital ingredient for future program development which will be housed within the newly established Indian Education Policy Center. Additionally, the international programs at Penn State have adopted a similar format as a means of providing foreign students with a technique for making an American education more appropriate to their needs.

The experience involved in the seminar consists of a curriculum in itself. However, this is not the only opportunity Native American students have to develop their skills and knowledge in Indian education. All students in the Native American Program register for the same courses in the same manner as do other graduate students in Educational Administration. That is, each individual may choose from the wide variety of coursework offered, and Native American students are *not* placed in "special" classes. Rather, all courses offered in Educational Administration and Cultural Foundations of Education, excepting those which deal specifically with Latin American or other foreign education, include instruction in issues in Indian education as they relate to the disciplines being taught. Specific examples of this will be given in a later section.

It is important to note here that issues in Indian educational law, politics, organizations, etc., are taught to all students, and Indian studies in education are held to be significant areas for investigation by all students—Indian and non-Indian. This is to say that issues in Indian education are given the same importance as other general educational issues, and they are taught to all students as a legitimate and important part of education as a whole.

In the area of *extracurricular activities*, it is the contention of the Native American Program that education is not best served by being confined to the classroom. For this reason it is deemed vitally important that students have on-site exposure to the various cultural demands of Indian education as well as to the different types of approaches to schooling. It also is important that students not only study federal policy from the literature, but that they gain experience from personal observation as well.

Penn State is in the rather unique position of being in close proximity to highly traditional Indian nations as well as to the seat of the United States Government, Washington, D.C. In taking advantage of this geographical position, the members of the Penn State Native American Program make annual trips to visit Native American communities of the Iroquois Nations in western New York and Ontario, Canada, as well as to various governmental agencies and congressional offices in Washington, D.C. During the New York and Canada trips, students have the opportunity to view alternative types of school programs such as a bilingual secondary school, a vocational secondary school, and an exclusive private preparatory school. Students are exposed to Canadian policies in Indian education when they visit the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford, Ontario. In western New York, students visit public schools and classes where Indian control is a reality and observe the influence that this factor has had on the development of Indian children. Courses in native languages, cultural studies, and the impact of Indian literature in libraries are all important observations to be made and analyzed by Native American graduate students in Educational Administration.

Visits to Washington, D.C. have provided students with the opportunity to visit with high officials in the Office of Indian Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the National Advisory Council on Indian Education (in addition to the Executive Directors of ten other Office of Education Advisory Councils). In addition to visiting congressmen from home states and other key congressional persons, students are given presentations by representatives of such national organizations as the National Congress of American Indians, National Tribal Chairman's Association, and the National Education Association. Finally, in addition to the above trips, Native American Program students, on a limited basis, are given the opportunity to attend national meetings, such as those of the National Indian Education Association, American Educational Research Association, and American Association of School Administrators.

The *orientation of the specific studies* category means that students taking courses at Penn State are encouraged to orient their studies toward areas of research needs in Indian education. Students are offered the opportunity to study educational needs in local Indian communities and to offer suggestions based on sound research to alleviate local problems. This orientation is provided not only in term papers but in research conducted for master's papers and doctoral theses. In this manner students remain cognizant of current needs in local Indian areas and have the opportunity to make meaningful contributions to the educational progress of those areas.

Papers and research produced from this orientation have been presented to various national Indian forums. Additionally, doctoral research has been utilized by local Indian communities as a means of understanding problems and for the development of educational planning. Penn State graduates have in some cases followed up their scholarly activity by working directly with the tribe as an employee or with an agency serving that tribe, such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

An extremely important feature of this orientation is that the language requirement for doctoral level students may be satisfied by an Indian language.[1] This is in recognition of the importance of native people and their culture as an important ingredient in scholarly activity. In view of the fact that few institutions of higher education offer this opportunity, it is a particularly important factor at Penn State in its efforts to continue to attract high potential students with traditional knowledge and orientation.

The fourth category, *scholarly forums*, represents Penn State's utilization of scholarly organizations such as the American Educational Research Association (AERA), American Association of School Administrators (AASA), and the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA) as well as others, as a means of inserting Indian educational concerns into the mainstream of educational research and development. Research conducted by several Native American Program students and staff has been presented at meetings of the above organizations.

Students in the Penn State Native American Program also were instrumental in the development of a Special Interest Group (SIG) in American Indian/Alaska Native Education (AIANE) as an organization of the American Educational Research Association. This SIG has been functioning for five years and presented its fifth program at the 1980 Annual Meeting of AERA in Boston. The experience gained by students at these national forums is invaluable; the contribution which is made to the development of Indian education is likewise important.

Another scholarly forum utilized by Penn State Native American Program students and staff are the scholarly journals. There is a growing list of publications authored by present and former Native American Program students. This activity represents a means of inserting Native American conducted research into nationally recognized forums.[2]

The fifth and final area of concepts and techniques involves the *physical properties* which are available as a result of the Native American Program and the commitment of the Penn State College of Education and library system. It is the intent of the Native American Program to provide its students with all the advantages possible to create an atmosphere conducive to study and skill development. The idea here is that, by removing barriers and frustrations to the extent possible, students will be able to concentrate on the task at hand: development of skills in educational administration and Indian education.

Physical properties offered at Penn State begin with a library developed and housed by the Native American Program for the exclusive use of Indian students. This library contains over five hundred titles and is a unique collection that combines theoretical literature in school administration, politics, law, organizations, etc., with studies and texts on Indian education, policy and culture. This library receives extensive use from program participants and is a valuable aid to their research.

This library is, of course, in addition to the Penn State Library System. Included in this vast collection are extensive holdings dealing with Native American history, politics, law, social concerns, etc. In addition, the documents collection provides access to many United States Government documents published which are extant and circulated. Due to the comprehensiveness of the Indian related literature available, one is able to research completely old as well as recent legislation dealing with Indian education.

The availability or accessibility of literature through the Penn State library system is one of the best in the United States and is, of course, utilized by Native American students extensively.

Finally, the College of Education houses a special collection of Native American children's literature in its Curriculum Materials Center. This collection is kept current and frequently is analyzed by Native American as well as other students for the appropriateness and accuracy of content. Many students utilize this collection as an instrument of instruction regarding material which is valuable for Native and non-Native children as well as for identification of unacceptable and stereotyping literature.

Applicability of Training for Indian Education Needs

The previous experience of the Penn State Native American Leadership Training Program has demonstrated to a significant degree that its graduates apply their training for the benefit of Native American children in many ways. Of the 95 students who participated in a recent survey, 15 were enrolled in coursework at Penn State. Of those remaining, 86 percent are now employed in positions directly related to Indian education.

Another 11 percent are employed in administrative positions with federal, tribal, and private organizations directly related to Indian affairs. Less than 3 percent are employed in fields indirectly related or unrelated to Indian affairs and education. Table 3.1 illustrates this distribution and is based on positions reported as of January 1, 1979.[3]

TABLE 3.1 Employment of Former Students (N = 80)

Type of Position	*Frequency*	*Percent*	*Cumulative Percentages*
Federal, Education Related (Includes BIA schools)	30	37.50	37.50
Non-Federal, Education Related (Includes tribes and contract schools)	39	48.75	86.25
Federal, Indian Related (Noneducational)	2	2.50	88.75
Non-Federal, Indian Related (Noneducational, includes tribal governments)	7	8.75	97.50
Non-Indian Related	2	2.50	100.00

Table 3.1 clearly indicates that the training received at Penn State is being applied for the benefit of Indian children. Further evidence of this includes the fact that 29 former Native American Program participants (or 36 percent) are now employed in school systems (BIA, contract, and public) which serve more than 13,000 Indian Children.[4] Add this total to the large numbers being served by the 40 former participants (50 percent) who are employed by private, tribal, state, and federal education agencies as well as colleges and universities and one can see that the impact being made by the Penn State Program is impressive. Table 3.2 is a display of the manner in which former participants are distributed according to the types of educational organizations with which they are associated.

Finally, it should be made clear that the training being offered at Penn State is appropriate for the jobs former students generally acquire. Forty-two former students, or nearly 60 percent of all former participants at the time, responded to a question on an evaluation survey regarding the relatedness of the training received at Penn State to their current employment. It is significant to note that 85.6 percent of the respondents indicated that their Penn State training was highly related (66.6 percent)

TABLE 3.2 Types of Educational Agencies Employing Former Participants (N = 80)

Agency	*Frequency*	*Percent*	*Cumulative Percentages*
Federal, Contract, and Public Schools	29	36.25	36.25
Other Education Agencies (Including private, tribal, state, federal, colleges and universities)	40	50.00	86.25
Noneducationally related employment (Including Indian related positions)	11	13.75	100.00

or moderately related (19 percent) to their current employment. The significance of this is that this percentage corresponds almost exactly with the percentages given for educationally related positions shown in the two previous tables (85 percent). Table 3.3 shows the distribution of the responses received.[5]

TABLE 3.3 Relatedness of Training to Current Employment (N = 42)

Response Choice	*Frequency*	*Percent*	*Cumulative Percentages*
Highly related	28	66.7	66.7
Moderately related	8	19.0	85.7
Minimally related	4	9.5	95.2
Not related	2	4.8	100.0

Accountability for Indian Culture and Heritage

The Penn State Native American Leadership Training Program utilizes various means by which it takes into account the culture and heritage of Indian children. The Seminar in Education, described in an earlier section, is one of the approaches used at Penn State to maintain a high level of awareness concerning cultural needs in education. The seminar serves to remind students that their academic training needs includes skill development in techniques which will facilitate the recognition and use of Indian culture as an integral part of instructional systems. These training needs are then addressed by the seminar's various academic and extracurricular exercises. In other words, during the time students are reviewing studies on Indian education, innovations in instructional delivery, and federal policies in Indian education, they also are required to relate these exercises to specific implications for Indian education. They must ask questions such as, "How will a particular instructional delivery method contradict or fall in line with traditional values in a given location?" Another question regarding implications would ask, "How does a particular policy of the federal government take into account the local and regional cultural needs in education?" The seminar, then provides students with the opportunity to inquire about the implications of findings of studies in Indian education, the applications of alternative instructional delivery methods in schools serving Indian children, and the relevance of federal education policy for Indians.

Because Penn State has been involved in training Native American school administrators for nearly ten years, it has had a unique opportunity to develop expertise in areas fundamental to the delivery of quality education. It is recognized, therefore that attention must be given to specific issues in each of the academic disciplines involved in educational administration. The manner in which this is done is outlined in the section below but it is important to note here that the importance of studying issues in Indian education is recognized not as simply a part of a special program but as an important factor in the development of a comprehensive education for all students.

Another important consideration in this regard is work toward specific issues in local Indian communities. In this way students are able to apply basic theoretical considerations to real conditions and, therefore, to complete the transition from concept to operation. It is important that students gain practical experience in this area in order to eliminate the possibility of "egghead"theories being applied to real situations in Indian education.

Finally, other areas where Indian culture and heritage is taken into account include the various extracurricular activities described in the section *Cooperative Planning and Use of Resources*, especially the exposure to the cultural aspects of education offered in schools on reservations visited in New York and Canada. These activities demonstrate the manner in which language and other cultural considerations have been institutionalized and how these factors affect the schooling of Native American children.

Factors Pertinent to the Education of Indian Children

The Penn State Native American Leadership Training Program offers a rare approach in its method of instructional delivery. This approach, alluded to earlier, involves instruction in particular Indian educational issues in nearly every course taken in Education Policy Studies and in many other areas of the College of Education as well. This instructional delivery technique is extremely pertinent to the education of Indian children because it enables potential school leaders to integrate educational theory successfully in the various disciplines included in administrator training with situations and conditions specific to areas of high Indian population.

Instruction included in coursework in the Division of Education Policy Studies illustrates the way course content at Penn State has been adjusted not only to serve students in the Native American Program but to expand the expertise of non-Indian students as well. The courses are *not* "special" classes for Indian students but are those listed as requirements for *all* students enrolled at Penn State in Education Policy Studies.

For a well rounded graduate experience, students also enroll for coursework in other divisions of the College of Education as well as in those completely outside the College. In fact, students working toward the master's degree are required to complete six credits outside the College of Education. Courses most often pursued "outside" are in social statistics, educational psychology, rural sociology, and communications. Within the College's other divisions students most frequently pursue areas in the Division of Curriculum and Instruction.

In summary, it should be clear that the Penn State Native American Program is focusing its efforts on the delivery of a program of graduate instruction that has broad implications for the improvement of education systems for Indian children. As a result of the type of training described in this section, Penn State graduates are well equipped to serve in educational leadership positions. The efforts of the Native American Program continues to be oriented toward the successful integration of educational theory with practical and realistic situations. It also assures that the academic program offered all students at Penn State continues to recognize and to serve the special needs of Indian children. The program especially identifies the need to provide schools which have significant Indian population with education executives who are cognizant of cultural demands on education.

Institutional Commitment

The Pennsylvania State University has made numerous commitments of resources, both tangible and intangible, to support and facilitate the Native American Program. There exists at the University a generalized recognition that the superiority of this program brings considerable credit and that its continuance is important to the institution, the Commonwealth, and the nation.

Evidence of the University's interest and commitment to the Native American Program include:

1. The award of a hard-line, tenure track appointment to the Director of the Native American Program. The Director holds faculty rank in the Division of Education Policy Studies. This faculty position is secure regardless of the continued funding of the Native American Program.
2. The award of numerous graduate assistantships to fellowship students of the Native American Program. The faculties of Cultural Foundations and Educational Administration each have appointed at least one Indian student per year to assistantships for several years. These appointments reduce program costs for tuition and support to the extent that additional students can be recruited beyond the number provided by federal monies.
3. The expenditure of faculty time in support of the program and its students. A number of faculty members devote considerable of their time, on an overload basis, to attend and make presentations to the Seminar in Indian Education, in specialized advising of Indian students on their master's papers, by studying in the area of Indian education to be better prepared to assist the Program's students, and by arranging field experiences and accompanying the Native American Program students in their several field experiences. The faculty has not only permitted but encouraged Program students to structure required course papers which link course content to issues in Indian education.
4. The creation of a Center for American Indian Educational Policy. The Native American Program and Division of Education Policy Studies has launched a research unit on Indian education to complement and extend the range of scholarly contributions to the field. The Division has provided "seed money" for the Center's organization, including time and travel funds for faculty, the Director and Assistant Director and Program students to seek support from foundations.
5. The demonstration of interest and support by University and College of Education administrators and by University-wide faculty. The president of the University has attended the Native American Program seminar, and has made monies available both from a Presidential contingency fund and through his program of recruitment of minority graduate students to the Program Director to assist in defraying costs of travel for student recruitment interviews. The Dean and Associate Deans of the College of Education, and College and University faculty attend and participate in the activities of the Native American Program, such as the Program's lecture series,

receptions for guests, etc. The administration of the Graduate School has been supportive of the kind and quality of research conducted by students of the Program.

6. The allocation without charge of resources of the institution. The Program has been assigned two oversized faculty offices, the Director's and a Native American Program student office, and secretarial space. Additional space for doctoral students in carrels is provided. Furniture, other equipment, and routine supplies are available for student use.
7. The development of an orientation program for Native American Program students by the Refegence Department of the University Library. The library staff has assembled a presentation that includes a general guide to the library, use of locator aids, etc., and specialized instruction for access to the rather sizable collection of materials held on Indian studies and policy.

Conclusion

The Penn State Native American Leadership Training Program elsewhere has clearly documented the need for graduate training in Educational Administration. It has been estimated that the present need for Indian administrators in schools serving significant numbers of Indian children is twice the number now available.[6] However, the need for trained leaders exists in many other areas other than education. We need more trained personnel in areas such as law, business, energy, and politics. It is our hope that the program at Penn State might serve as a model for those contemplating the development of other programs. Graduate training is important so it is vital that we all strive to develop higher education programs which will have direct benefits to the children of American Indian communities.

NOTES

1. *Prospectus of Graduate Programs in Educational Administration* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University, March 1980), p. 8.
2. *Presentations and Publications by Penn State Native American Program Students, 1979* (Records of the Penn State Native American Leadership Training Program, 1978–79).
3. *Progress Report* (Penn State Native American Leadership Training Program, Based on an updated analysis of positions as of January 1, 1980). This report lists current and previous students and their previous and present jobs.
4. Ibid.

5. *The Native American Leadership Training Program: An Evaluative Report* (Lawrence, KS: Native American Research Associates, November 1978), p. 25.
6. G. Noley, and G. M. Charlston. "Documenting the Need for More Trained Native American School administrators" (unpublished manuscript).

AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION AND CONFLUENT EDUCATION: AN OVERVIEW OF A CASE STUDY

ROSALIE A. BINDEL

Introduction

American education has failed to meet the needs of American Indians, and cultural pluralism, which values cultural diversity, is limited as a democratic ideal in American schooling. Therefore, this study was designed to explore professed value similarities and differences between confluent educators and Institute of American Indian Arts students. This exploration was intended to determine the need for adaptations and further research in confluent education for a specific cultural group—American Indians. Cultural alienation was recognized as (1) a result of assimilationist policies in shaping Indian education, and (2) a primary cause for the failure of Indian education. Educational disadvantages of American Indians and the role of the federal government in Indian education was reviewed.

A basic assumption of this study was that the implementation of cultural pluralism in Indian education could address cultural alienation. An exploration of the potential of confluent education, a recent innovative approach in education, in accomplishing this goal was begun. An examination of the underlying values of confluent education in terms of literacy, responsibility, personal and interpersonal knowledge, and active coparticipation indicated potential areas of agreement and conflict with traditional American Indian values as presented in literature.

The Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico, was presented as a school dedicated to American Indian arts education and

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank

founded on the premise of cultural pluralism. IAIA history, educational philosophy, and staff development and confluent education were overviewed. What follows is a brief review of what the Institute of American Indian Arts says that it is doing as documented in its various publications (UNESCO,1978; U.S., B.I.A., 1964, 1972, 1977, 1978) and the reasons confluent education was introduced.

First, it is the mission of the Institute to teach art in a creative fashion to young Indian people who as a group examine tradition for values that may serve as strengthening agents to them. A second major premise is that Indian students come from disparate backgrounds in terms of their desires or felt needs to make something of their specific cultural heritage. A third position held by the Institute is that it presumes that the artistic expression of students is often concerned as much with sorting out their positions in life as Indian people as it is with producing an artistic result. It is known that such therapeutic aspects are a recognized need for some more than others. It is also known that some students find exciting stimuli for strong new artistic statements in the process of identification as Indian persons and that others become slavishly constricted by their feelings that what they say artistically must somehow retain a response to what they believe to be traditionally Indian.

IAIA is uniquely devoted to the needs of a special audience and pluralistic in its approach. It attempts to honor Indian values and to reconcile them with those of the contemporary general society; it also attempts to honor those that cannot be reconciled. Furthermore, IAIA is engaged in an educational program designed to produce artists. It does not go about this in the same manner as the typical junior college or other schools devoted to less individualistic and personally defined goals for its graduates.

In pursuit of this mission, IAIA leaders identified confluent education as an innovative educational approach that seemed potentially useful. The resulting controversy centering around confluent education among IAIA students, staff, and administrators suggested that an exploration of value similarities and differences between confluent educators and IAIA students would indicate the nature of some of the applications and adaptations that needed to be made in this educational approach if it were to be effectively applied to the educational needs of Indian young people.

It was important to examine the current values of Native American youth and confluent educators in order to identify indicators of possible adaptations. These findings as indicated by responses to the Rokeach Value Survey (RVS) showed similarities and differences of value rankings among IAIA students and confluent educators and a group of Connecticut students and IAIA educators according to age, sex, cultural groupings, sub-groups within a cultural grouping, and variations of value systems within sub-groups.

That significant value differences were not unique to confluent educators and Native American students was suggested by more significant differences in values between confluent educators and the Connecticut students. This suggests perhaps a greater compatibility of confluent education with American Indian education than with the general American society as well as many significant differences between confluent educators and the student groups based on age differences.

Discussion

Two secondary questions related to this case study are addressed first: (1) How do the values reported by confluent educators in the RVS compare with the stated values of confluent education? (2) What, if any, are the implicit cultural biases and/or assumptions in confluent education? Concerning the latter, an understanding of how the values of confluent educators compare with the values of other groups representing mainstream America is helpful in estimating cultural bias in confluent education within the context of this study. Finally, the primary questions posed by this study are addressed: (1) What are the key values which emerge as indicators of the applications and adaptations that need to be made by confluent educators in Indian education? (2) What adaptations and further research are needed in confluent education for Native Americans? With regard to the former question, the value similarities and differences between IAIA students and confluent educators in this study are discussed.

Values of Confluent Educators and Confluent Education

To determine whether the RVS responses of the confluent educators in this study support confluent education theory is problematic. It may have been predicted that confluent educators would give high rankings to such terminal values as *freedom, wisdom, inner harmony,* and *self-respect* and such instrumental values as *loving, imaginative,* and *honest* (See Tables 1.1 and 1.2 below). Even so, it also may be asked, what does the confluent education concept of responsibility, for instance, mean? Does the low ranking of *self-controlled* and the high ranking of *freedom,* for example, support the confluent value of responsibility? Is the relatively low ranking of *a world at peace* to be interpreted as supportive of confluent education theory? It appears that the limitation of the specificity of confluent education values contributes to the difficulty of comparing the goals and values of confluent education with the findings of this study.

It seems that literacy, responsibility, personal and interpersonal knowledge, and co-participation, as stated goals and values of confluent education, would be expressed by confluent educators in a balance between the relative importance of intrapersonal and interpersonal values in the terminal value hierarchy and competence, or self-actualization, and moral values in the instrumental value hierarchy. Both Tables 1.1 and 1.2 below show a near balance between personal and social values along the continuum of terminal values with an inclination toward personal values in the top range and an inclination toward social values in the mid-range. The balance between competence and moral values along the continuum of the instrumental value hierarchy in Table 1.2 is similar.

The observations in this section suggest perhaps the need for further clarification of confluent education values. Further studies in confluent education might investigate the suitability of the "Unpacking Method" (Shapiro in Brown, Yeomans & Grizzard, 1975, pp. 107–120) for defining and explicating further its goals and values.

Mainstream Cultural Bias in Confluent Education

The values of confluent educators as identified in this study are compared to the terminal and instrumental values of other adult Americans (Rokeach, 1973) and those of the Connecticut high school students as studied.

The value medians and composite rank orders shown in Tables 1.1 and 1.2 below indicate that confluent educators distinguish themselves considerably from mainstream America as represented by the terminal and instrumental value systems of other adult Americans as identified by Rokeach. Though direct statistical tests of significance of differences between these groups are not indicated, visual inspection reveals many sizeable differences.

The largest terminal value differences were found for *an exciting life, inner harmony, mature love, true friendship,* and *pleasure,* which confluent educators ranked higher than other adult Americans, and *a world of peace, family security, salvation, a comfortable life, happiness,* and *national security,* which other adult Americans valued more than confluent educators. These two groups are more alike in their rankings of *freedom* and *self-*

TABLE 1.1 Terminal Value Medians and Composite Rank Orders for Confluent Educators and Adult Americans (Rokeach, 1973, p. 145)

	Confluent educators			*Adult Americans*	
N =	36			1,409	
Freedom	4.5	(1)	A world at peace	3.3	(1)
Wisdom	5.17	(2)	Family security	3.8	(2)
Inner harmony	5.25	(3-4)	Freedom	5.5	(3)
Self-respect	5.25	(3-4)	Happiness	7.6	(4)
Mature love	5.86	(5)	Self-respect	7.7	(5)
An exciting life	7.5	(6-7)	Wisdom	8.0	(6)
True friendship	7.5	(6-7)	Equality	8.5	(7)
A sense of accomplishment	7.9	(8)	Salvation	8.8	(8)
Equality	8.9	(9)	A comfortable life	9.0	(9)
Happiness	9.17	(10)	A sense of accomplishment	9.0	(10)
A world at peace	10.5	(11)	True friendship	9.3	(11)
Family security	10.9	(12)	National security	9.5	(12)
A world of beauty	11.83	(13)	Inner harmony	10.5	(13)
Pleasure	13.5	(14)	Mature love	12.5	(14)
A comfortable life	13.75	(15-16)	A world of beauty	13.6	(15)
Social recognition	13.75	(15-16)	Social recognition	14.4	(16)
National security	17.3	(17)	Pleasure	14.6	(17)
Salvation	17.38	(18)	An exciting life	15.3	(18)

Figures shown are median rankings and, in parenthesis, composite rank orders.

respect in the top range of values, *equality* and *a sense of accomplishment* in the mid-range, and *a world of beauty* and *social recognition* in the lower range.

The instrumental value which most distinguishes the two groups is *imaginative,* which confluent educators ranked second and other adult Americans, eighteenth. Other large instrumental value differences are shown for *loving, independent,* and *intellectual,*which confluent ranked higher than adult Americans, and *ambitious, clean, forgiving, responsible,* and *self-controlled,* which other adult Americans ranked higher than confluent educators. More similarity is indicated between the two groups in their rankings of *honest, broadminded,* and *courageous* in the upper range of instrumental values; *helpful, capable,* and *cheerful* in the mid-range; and *logical, polite,* and *obedient* in the lower range.

This data suggests then that confluent educators are less achievement oriented in the service of materialism than other adult Americans. This seems to be a result of a greater appreciation of such values as *mature love. true friendship,* and *inner harmony* as opposed to *a comfortable life* and being *ambitious.* Achievement for confluent educators seems better de-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TABLE 1.2 Instrumental Value Medians and Composite Rank Orders for Confluent Educators and Adult Americans (Rokeach, 1973, p. 146)

Confluent Educators			Adult Americans		
N =	*36*			*1,409*	
Loving	3.1	(1)	Honest	3.3	(1)
Imaginative	3.75	(2)	Ambitious	6.5	(2)
Honest	5.0	(3)	Responsible	6.7	(3)
Independent	6.0	(4)	Forgiving	7.2	(4)
Courgeous	6.3	(5)	Broadminded	7.5	(5)
Intellectual	7.17	(6)	Courageous	7.8	(6)
Broadminded	7.25	(7)	Helpful	8.2	(7)
Helpful	7.58	(8)	Clean	8.7	(8)
Capable	8.0	(9-10)	Capable	9.5	(9)
Responsible	8.0	(9-10)	Self-controlled	9.6	(10)
Forgiving	8.7	(11)	Loving	9.7	(11)
Cheerful	10.5	(12	Cheerful	9.9	(12)
Ambitious	13.0	(13)	Independent	10.5	(13)
Logical	13.38	(14)	Polite	10.8	(14)
Self-controlled	14.17	(15)	Intellectual	13.0	(15)
Clean	15.7	(16)	Obedient	13.3	(16)
Polite	16.17	(17)	Logical	14.2	(17)
Obedient	17.41	(18)	Imaginative	15.4	(18)

Figures shown are median rankings and, in parenthesis, composite rank orders.

fined in terms of personal competence as indicated by their higher rankings for a sense of *accomplishment* and being *capable*. Moreover, competence for confluent educators appears to mean mainly creative and intellectual competence as evidenced by their higher rankings than other adult Americans for being *imaginative, intellectual,* and *logical.*

It can also be inferred from Tables 1.1 and 1.2 that confluent educators consider less important than other adult Americans the most distinctively Christian values: *salvation* and *forgiving* (Rokeach, 1973, p. 91). Nevertheless, confluent educators care as much as other adult Americans for being *helpful*. Further examination of the data indicates that confluent educators are more individualistic as evidenced by higher rankings than other adult Americans for *freedom* and being *independent*. On the other hand, it appears that other adult Americans are more group oriented than confluent educators in that other adult Americans placed more importance on being *clean, polite, obedient,* and *self-controlled*. Finally, the data suggests that confluent educators are more fun-loving than other adult Americans as evidenced by higher rankings for an *exciting life* and *pleasure*.

The values of the Connecticut high school students in this study generally compare to those of confluent educators in similar manner as the values of other adult Americans compare to those of confluent educators,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

taking into consideration fluctuations that may by accounted for by age differences (Rokeach, 1973, pp.72-82). However, this group of high school students does distinguish itself from late adolescents in the national sample (Rokeach, 1973, pp. 73 and 78) by placing more importance on *inner harmony* and being *responsible*.

These results seem pertinent not only to the validity of certain claims put forth by confluent educators (Brown, Phillips, & Shapiro,1976; Phillips, 1974) concerning differences between the values of confluent education and contemporary American education generally, but also to the question of cultural bias between confluent education and Native American culture. The latter is examined in the final section of this study summary in which value similarities and differences between confluent educators and IAIA students are discussed.

Recommendations Based on Value Similarities and Differences Between Confluent Educators and IAIA Students

Several current values of Native American youth, as expressed by IAIA students, emerge in this study (See Tables 1.3 and 1.4 below) as indicators of the kinds of applications and adaptations that need to be made by confluent educators in Native American education.

This study suggests that IAIA students hold some values in common with confluent educators but they also share some values with contemporary general society and non-Indian students their age that distinguish them from confluent educators. In addition they appear to hold some traditional Indian values that are not held by confluent educators, and conversely, confluent educators' placed more value on some traditional Indian values than Indian youth as represented by IAIA students.

In the following comparison of IAIA students and confluent educators, references are made to the other groups in this study which also suggest that the value similarities and differences between confluent educators and IAIA students are based on cultural, age, and/or socio-economic differences.

1. Recommendations for adaptations and further research inferred from value similarities and differences attempt to recognize the importance of self-esteem and personal integrity to confluent educators and IAIA students as evidenced by the high ranking of *self-respect* and being *honest* by both groups.

2. Two key values showing significant variance are being *forgiving* and *self-controlled*. Confluent education may by said to be culturally biased in

TABLE 1.3 Terminal Value Medians and Composite Rank Orders for Confluent Educators and IAIA Students

	Confluent Educators *IAIA Students*				
N =	*36* *91*				
	*p**				
A comfortable life	13.75	(15-16)	9.636	(9)	.001
An exciting life	7.5	(6-7)	10.60	(12)	.01
A sense of accomplishment	7.9	(8)	8.0	(5)	—
A world at peace	10.5	(11)	11.40	(14)	—
A world of beauty	11.83	(13)	9.75	(10)	—
Equality	8.9	(9)	10.36	(11)	.05
Family security	10.9	(12)	9.25	(7)	—
Freedom	4.5	(1)	4.13	(1)	—
Happiness	9.17	(10)	5.458	(4)	.01
Inner harmony	5.25	(3-4)	9.583	(8)	.01
Mature love	5.86	(5)	10.875	(13)	.001
National security	17.3	(17)	16.125	(18)	.001
Pleasure	13.5	(14)	12.55	(15)	—
Salvation	17.38	(18)	15.44	(17)	.01
Self-respect	5.25	(3-4)	5.31	(3)	—
Social recognition	13.75	(15-16)	12.928	(16)	—
True friendship	7.5	(6-7)	8.46	(6)	.05
	Wisdom 5(12)		5.2	(2)	—

Figures shown are median rankings and, in parenthesis, composite rank orders.

*Median test

favor of the major culture perhaps to the extent that these two values are shared with mainstream America and are not shared by traditional Indian culture and IAIA students. IAIA students and IAIA Indian educators placed significantly less importance on being *forgiving* and significantly more importance on being *self-controlled* than confluent educators, Connecticut students, IAIA non-Indian educators and other adult Americans. The ranking of *salvation* in the lower range of the terminal value hierarchy by both confluent educators and IAIA students shows that this cultural difference does not reflect a bias in favor of organized Christian religion, as does the values profile for other adult Americans. It seems that the ranking by IAIA students of these two values is more directly related to cultural stability and resistance to change to the extent that they are expressions of attitudes devaluing the toleration of differences within the group and facilitating separation rather than contact or openness with other groups.

In this study, there appeared to be agreement between the stated goals and values of the Institute of American Indian Arts and confluent edu-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TABLE 1.4 Instrumental Value Medians and Composite Rank Orders for Confluent Educators and IAIA Students

	IAIA Students		*Confluent Educators*		
N =	*91*		*36*		*p**
Ambitious	13.0	(13)	6.58	(3)	.001
Broadminded	7.25	(7)	8.125	(6)	—
Capable	8.0	(9-10)	8.85	(8)	—
Cheerful	10.5	(12)	10.0	(11)	—
Clean	15.7	(16)	11.687	(16	.001
Courageous	6.3	( )	10.66	(12)	.01
Forgiving	8.7	(11)	11.57	(15)	.05
Helpful	7.58	(8)	9.125	(9)	—
Honest	5.0	(3)	5.428	(1)	—
Imagination	3.75	(2)	11.428	(14)	.001
Independent	6.0	(4)	6.66	(4)	—
Intellectual	7.17	(6)	9.75	(10)	—
Logical	13.38	(14)	12.25	(17)	—
Loving	3.1	(1)	8.75	(7)	.001
Obedient	17.41	(18)	13.781	(18)	.001
Polite	16.17	(17)	10.77	(13)	.001
Responsible	8.0	(9-10)	6.05	(2)	.05
Self-controlled	14.17	(15)	7.05	(5)	.001

Figures shown are median rankings and, in parenthesis, composite rank orders.

***Median test**

cation with regard to openness to change and a toleration for differences. However, it seemed evident from the reaction to confluent education that those related explicit and implicit values of confluent education focusing on openness, the sharing of feelings, and personal growth were the most disruptive at IAIA. These values appeared to oppose some traditional American Indian cultural perspectives. According to the literature, stability as reflected in keeping one's thoughts and feelings to oneself, avoiding direct confrontation within the group, and fear of the unknown were characteristic of the core value orientation of America's aboriginals.

This high degree of reserve and nondemonstrative emotionality appeared to be qualities possessed by some of the IAIA traditionally oriented Indian staff and students who were not comfortable with confluent approaches facilitating the open verbal expression of feelings. These students included many of the fine arts majors and particularly the reservation males and females described as bilingual, overage, and needing special instruction in basic computation and English language skills. They implied that a more comfortable way of learning for them was by listening,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

observing, and imitating models. On the other hand, those IAIA students who appeared most comfortable in classes in which feelings were openly dealt with included many of the performing arts majors, urban educated males and females with grade level achievement in basic skills, and political activists. However, the sharing of feelings among the latter seemed to include primarily negative feelings, projected toward those who were perceived as anti-Indian and oppressive. These included at IAIA both non-Indian and Indian staff.

The extent to which the confluent values of openness and the toleration of differences appear to be contrary to the values of Native Americans in this study seems to be related to the various stages or types of cultural identity individuals and sub-groups are experiencing. These range from an orientation predominantly toward the traditional culture to various stages of acculturation. These stages of cultural identity appear to be affected by differences in age, sex, and contact with general contemporary society. The presence of these variables at IAIA was indicated through this case history and is evidenced by variations and competing values in value systems among individuals and sub-groups of the IAIA student population.

Consequently, the nature of the particular adaptations that need to be made in confluent education for Native American students appear to be those which recognize the significant conflicting values. As in any other learning situation, confluent educators need to be aware of student affective readiness and provide alternatives for individual differences. No place else in Indian education, perhaps, do confluent educators need to make the confluent education ground rule of no coercion more explicit than in the facilitation of the expression of feelings. It seems imperative that emphasis be placed on process skills rather than change itself in designing workshops and seminars in confluent education for Native Americans.

It appears that confluent educators, as change agents, could be valuable in assisting members of the Indian community, students and adults, in enhancing their self-determination. In the past, there has been little self-determination in education for members of the Indian community. The educational system has been imposed on them and the methods have been from another culture. It seems that confluent education could be used as a tool in assisting Indian people (1) to determine what they want from education, (2) to make explicit the value systems of the Indian culture in the on-going processes of education, (3) to ascertain their purposes and goals, (4) to develop among the young and old their own abilities as leaders and educators, (5) to develop and test curriculum for Native Americans that evolves from their own culture, (6) to develop alternatives to anti-individual and anti-societal activities, and (7) to develop motivational activities that encourage learning.

3. Another value from which the need for adaptations may be inferred is *freedom*, ranked first by both confluent educators and IAIA students. That they appear to share some values with traditional Indian culture that distinguish them from mainstream American society is evidenced by their placing significantly higher value on *freedom*, as well as *a world of beauty* and *wisdom*, than other adult Americans in the national survey and the non-Indian Connecticut students in this study.

Among IAIA students there seem to be variations among cultural subgroups about the ranking of this value and personal *happiness* (fourth for all IAIA students). Differences in problem-solving approaches and leadership styles among the cultural regions may be inferred from these variations and the relative rankings of the terminal values *a world at peace, equality, inner harmony,* and *social recognition* and competence and moral values in the instrumental hierarchy. It appears that the needs of some Indian students may require a leadership stance or problem-solving approach that appears incompatible with confluent education philosophy, such as a directive approach or individual problem-solving methods. Too the Institute of American Indian Arts, with its unique mission to train artists, places more importance on individual problem-solving approaches than group approaches. And, because of the wide variations among students, Indian education in such multi-cultural settings as the Institute of American Indian arts appears to require a variety of leadership stances.

Because confluent education stresses the importance of student needs and readiness as well as methodological and content relevancy, confluent educators believe they can function with integrity in other stances as they effect a block-building approach to learning. Therefore, the adaptations needed in leadership and problem-solving processes to reflect cultural pluralism at such institutions as IAIA appear to provide an excellent opportunity for confluent educators to practice and teach process skills by starting where the student is with his values. This emphasis on a repertoire of leadership stances and problem-solving approaches has implications therefore, not only for the training of confluent educators, but educators generally who increasingly teach in multi-ethnic learning environments.

Further, confluent educators might also assist individuals in multi-cultural learning situations in expressing and delineating their own values and developing methods by which students can live with one another as well as within an overall culture that has values that differ from those of their ancestry and family. Readiness in this regard seems evident by the relatively low ranking of a world at peace by IAIA students and confluent educators which suggests their belief not only that national security was not being threatened but also that a reasonable level of inter-group conflict is tolerable. Also the potential of confluent education to aid in developing a sense of positive affiliation with individuals and overall American culture needs to be explored.

4. IAIA students, as well as the non-Indian Connecticut students, appear to be more group oriented than confluent educators. In the instrumental value hierarchy they emphasize moral values and being *clean, polite, obedient, responsible,* and *self-controlled* more than confluent educators. However, for IAIA students this group orientation seems to serve both achievement and competence related values as well as affiliation values, while the group orientation of the Connecticut students appears more included to serve affiliation values.

It is significant to note that the one instrumental value that most distinguishes confluent educators from any of the other groups in this study is being *loving,* ranked first. This value appears to reflect the basic caring attitude toward human beings of this educational approach.

Nevertheless, *true friendship, mature love,* and being *loving* were significantly less important to IAIA students than to confluent educators and Connecticut students. And with confluent educators, IAIA students ranked *family security* and being *helpful* in the mid-range. In contrast, *freedom* and being *broadminded* and *independent* were highly valued by IAIA students, as they were by confluent educators.

Human contact appears to be a less necessary element of the learning process for some Native Americans than for confluent educators. At IAIA this is probably a function of students being aspiring professional artists and involved in highly personal creative action in a multicultural setting and, for the more traditionally oriented, art may have been an important vehicle for teaching and learning in their culture and group learning may have required them to listen, observe, and imitate leaders rather than to dialogue within the group. Confluent educators need to recognize that readiness among some Native American students for individualized approaches to instruction and group learning employing methodology such as lectures and slide presentations seems greater than their readiness for processes requiring group interaction. When attempting group work with Native Americans, confluent educators should also be aware that pressure to conform, whether to participate or not to participate, will probably be exerted within a group depending on the balance of influence. Therefore, the extent to which the confluent education ground rule of no coercion can in fact be implemented is problematic.

Moreover, since group problem-solving skills appear to be important to American Indians to realize their self-determination, confluent educators need to understand this. When student readiness and content relevancy support group interaction, confluent educators might first provide students the opportunity to choose group work from other alternatives, and then also to choose those with whom they would work in small groups in moderately structured activities.

In the context where there is an inclination to group conformity, confluent educators need to recognize that Native American students may be resistant to being singled out for either help, praise, or criticism by either a leader or group participants. This may be inferred from the low ranking of *social recognition* by IAIA students. On the other hand, a similar low ranking of *social recognition* by confluent educators appears to be related to their greater appreciation for the center of control within the individual. This is evidenced by their significantly higher ranking than IAIA students for *inner harmony*.

In view of these value similarities and differences, confluent educators might develop readiness among Native American students for group problem-solving by first emphasizing and reinforcing those individual communications skills that appear strongest, perhaps listening and observing. After students have an increased awareness of how they communicate, they might proceed to interpersonal communications activities emphasizing clarification and completion skills. Then students might approach group problem-solving tasks such as goal-setting and decision-making with greater understanding of themselves and others.

Confluent educators need to be sensitive to the resistance to the open verbal expression of interpersonal feelings within the group among many Native Americans. Initially, these students may respond more comfortably to feelings about issues and objects rather than feelings about themselves and other group members as subject matter. Surely, confluent educators should examine the appropriateness of an activity which calls for the verbal expression of interpersonal feelings as a norm in classrooms of Native American students.

5. IAIA students value *a comfortable life* and being *ambitious* significantly higher than confluent educators. However, IAIA students share with confluent educators their values for *a sence of accomplishment* and being *capable* and *intellectual.*

Though IAIA students value being *ambitious* more than being *capable,* these achievement related values seem more in the service of personal competence than materialism as indicated by greater importance placed on *a sense of accomplishment* than on *a comfortable life.* Intellectual competence is also significantly more important to IAIA students, and to confluent educators, than to the Connecticut students. On the other hand, intellectual competence for confluent educators, who also placed significantly greater importance on *an exciting life* (defined as a stimulating, active life) and being *imaginative*, appears to serve a self-actualization function.

Students training to be professional artists might be predicted to value higher being *imaginative* and *courageous*, but it is possible that these students hold these values and take them for granted. However, these value rankings do suggest a conservative approach to learning that may need to be considered in introducing innovative methodology. It appears that some values characteristic of confluent education and often attributed to American Indians, such as being *courageous* and *imaginative*, as well as *inner harmony* and being *loving*, are less apparent in the findings for IAIA students than for IAIA Indian educators and statements concerning traditional Indian values. IAIA students, like the Connecticut students and other American adults, value personal *happiness* more than tranquility. Nevertheless, contrary to traditional sterotypes of American Indians as lazy and apathetic, these students seem to view themselves as aspiring and hardworking.

These observations seem to verify the results of cultural alienation as presented in this study in terms of the failure of American education to prepare Native Americans to participate in the political economy of this country. How confluent education can be used to assist Native Americans to develop and produce their own goods and services appears to be a vital area for further research.

The probability that confluent education will be useful in addressing the educational disadvantages of Indian youth based on evaluation is difficult to determine in that research "has been limited in quantity, lacking in overall direction, and relatively narrow in perspective" (Phillips, 1974, p. 54). However, promising results of several empirical students (Shiflett & Brown, 1972; Phillips & Elmore, 1974; Cantley, 1975) do indicate that confluent education facilitates self-conception and personal growth in both students and teachers. Increased classroom attendance and reading comprehension and better grades (Newberg, 1978) have been shown in another study. Generally, statements of confluent educators indicate that:

> Confluent education usually, but not always, appears to improve classroom climate, interpersonal relations, and attitudes toward learning, and in some cases academic performance. The latter is still problematical. It may be that under certain circumstances these methods do not *measurably* improve cognitive processes, but even here the cognitive gains seem as great as those of the control groups. In other words, formal achievement is not sacrificed while gains seem as great as those of the control groups. In other words, formal achievement is not sacrificed while gains are being made in other areas (Brown, Phillips, & Shapiro, 1976, p. 23).

Whether confluent education, effectively adapted and applied to Indian education, can facilitate academic performance among Native Americans appears to be a potential area for future study. Such investigations would include at institutions like IAIA the development of curriculum materials reflecting cultural pluralism in both content and process. Evaluation of this research might also include observations of growth of self-confidence, independent action, and other evidences of an increased sense of self-worth.

6. Another shared value between confluent educators and IAIA students is the appreciation for *a world of beauty*. This value appears to be linked with the visual-aesthetic-plastic (working with the hands) intelligence among Native American students in this study. On the other hand, IAIA students, as confluent educators, place less importance on cognitive consistency as evidenced by their low ranking of being *logical*. Here again seems to be an opportunity to apply confluent education to American Indian education. IAIA students are generally open and concerned about their learning. However, the level of skill development for data-gathering seems to vary with highly developed skills in sensory observation and lesser achievement in basic computational and English communications skills. Traditionally and historically the Indian culture has grown from and out of the verbal (oral) and nonverbal techniques. Nonverbal, in this case, is defined not as writing but as relating to the ideas of meditation, dreaming, and visual thinking. It seems promising, therefore, to explore further the sensory awareness, guided imagination, art, nonverbal as well as oral communication, and Gestalt approaches of confluent education to enhance the verbal-linear-analytical learning of Native Americans.

7. Finally, in this discussion of values pointing to applications of confluent education to American Indian education there is wisdom, ranked second by both confluent educators and IAIA students. Because the value systems of Native American students vary significantly, it appears that IAIA and other multicultural institutions provide opportune settings for practicing the value of making one's own meanings. In addition the related values of self-knowledge and interpersonal knowledge are also indicated so that Native American students can understand their own values and characteristics and how to link them with other Indian cultures as well as to the general contemporary American society. The usefulness of instructional vehicles in confluent education such as self-science education, Gestalt and sub-self techniques, and social literacy problem-solving approaches in accomplishing these goals is another major area for further study.

This exploratory study suggests that confluent education appears to have potential as a tool for Native American youth in equipping them to live in a culturally pluralistic society. Further research is indicated to evaluate this potential and the validity of the concepts of confluent education in the development of Native American education as a system that has direct reference to and comes out of the Indian's culture and needs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bindel, R. A. "The application of confluent education to American Indian education: An exploratory study of value similarities and differences." Doctoral dissertation. Santa Barbara: University of California, 1978.

Brown, G. I., Phillips, M. & Shapiro, S. B. *Getting it all together: Confluent education*. Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1976.

Brown, G. I., Yeomans, T. & Grizzard, L. (Eds.). *The live classroom: Innovation through confluent education and Gestalt*. New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1975.

Cantley, E. O. "A study of the relationship between confluent teaching and mathematics self-conception in remedial math students." Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Santa Barbara: University of California, 1975.

Kitwood, T. & Smithers, A. G. "Measurement of human values: An appraisal of the work of Milton Rokeach." *Educational Research*, 1975, 17, 175–179.

Newberg, N. A. "Strategies for impacting an urban school system: the Philidelphia affective education program." Unpublished doctoral qualifying examination. Santa Barbara: University of California, 1977.

Phillips, M. "Confluent education in dimension: Present perspectives and future directions." Unpublished manuscript. Santa Barbara: University of California, 1974.

Phillips, M., & Elmore, B. "Follow-up report on DRICE participants, 1974." Santa Barbara, California: DRICE, 1974.

Rokeach, M. *The nature of human values*. New York: The Free Press, A Division of Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1973.

Shiflett, J. M., & Brown, G. I. *Confluent education: Attitudinal and behavioral consequences*. University Center, Michigan: University Center Monograph Series, 1972.

Tesconi, C. A. *Schooling in America, a social philosophical perspective*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1975.

UNESCO, The World Crafts Council. "The Institute of American Indian Arts, a United States Government experiment in Culturally Related Education." Santa Fe, New Mexico: Institute of American Indian Arts, 1978.

U.S., Bureau of Indian Affairs. "Cultural difference as a basis for creative expression," by Lloyd H. New. Santa Fe, New Mexico: Institute of American Indian Arts, December, 1964.

———. "Rationale for a major cultural extension institution for American Indians," by L. K. New. Santa Fe, New Mexico: Institute of American Indian Arts, June 8, 1972.

———. "Institute of American Indian Arts status study report to the accreditation committee of the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools and the National Association of Schools of Art." Santa Fe, New Mexico: Institute of American Indian Arts, 1977.

———. "The future Institute of American Indian Arts and Culture, a major multi-phased national cultural advancement center," the position paper of the Native American Council of Regents. Santa Fe, New Mexico: Institute of American Indian Arts, 1978.

THE BIA HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

ELIZABETH A. RINNANDER

In 1976, a group of concerned people from the Los Angeles area Indian community submitted to the Los Angeles Field Employment Assistance Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) a petition demanding that the services the Field Office offered to participants in the Employment Assistance Program be provided to Indian students under the Higher Education Assistance Program. The Field Office staff responded with a request for more information. Was there a need? If there was a need, for which services?

Employment Assistance clients receive a total package of services, including aid with job development and placement, locating housing and home furnishings, medical and dental services, enrolling children in schools, transportation—both from the reservation to Los Angeles and within the city—and job training up to a two-year program. Beyond this, services are provided according to the individual needs of the client, to assist him or her in making an adequate adjustment to urban living and to the community in which he settles. Counseling and career guidance, instruction in money management, referrals to community social services agencies, or even the posting of bond to release a client from jail may be offered.

Higher Education Assistance Program (HEAP) clients generally receive from the Bureau only a grant covering some college expenses. Most BIA grant recipients under this program receive other aid from the federal government, including a Basic Educational Opportunity Grant (BEOG), and sometimes other federal assistance funnelled through their

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

college, such as a Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grant (BEOG), a College Work-Study (CW-S) award, or a National Direct Student Loan (NDSL). Some also are able to obtain other assistance from their colleges or from private sources of scholarships and loans.

Although nothing in the Bureau's regulations specifically prohibits the rendering of Employment Assistance-type services to the HEAP students, this has not traditionally been done in the Los Angeles area. Rather, the Field Office in Los Angeles has served HEAP students as a conduit to the BIA agencies across the country which administer the students' grants. On occasion, students in dire need may receive other services. For example, a student who needed air fare to return home to attend to a dying parent was provided immediate cash for this purpose. The Field Office then requested reimbursement from that student's Agency. Generally speaking, however, the colleges which HEAP clients attend have provided the counseling, housing assistance, career advisement, and other services the students may require.

A needs assessment of Indian students in the Los Angeles and Orange County area was indicated. Indian staff at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) offered to conduct the survey. A research grant from the UCLA Institute of American Cultures Research Program in Ethnic Studies was awarded the author in May, 1978, to fund the study. An initial attempt at data gathering was markedly unsuccessful. Unanticipated political pressures within the colleges where Indian students were enrolled prohibited obtaining an acceptable rate of response. This dismal failure led to a second, ultimately successful attempt at gathering the needed data.

In October, 1979, a letter was sent out from Charlotte Heth, the acting director of the American Indian Studies Center at UCLA, to the presidents of all 64 institutions of higher education in Los Angeles and Orange Counties. This letter described the purpose of the study, and requested each president to appoint a member of his staff to coordinate with efforts in gathering the descriptive statistics. A total of 40 colleges were unwilling or unable to participate in the study. Of those who did not participate, 12 stated that they had no Indian students; 10 indicated that names and addresses of Indian students were unobtainable, since the registrar's files were programmed to give a head count only, not names of individual students; 3 said they wanted to "protect the students' right to privacy"; 2 had inadequate staff time to help out; and 10 declined to participate without stating a reason. Of the colleges which did agree to cooperate with the survey, 4 were state colleges or universities, 5 were two-year community colleges, and 15 were private colleges. The number of Indian students at these 24 participating institutions totalled 812. Although the number of private colleges in the sample was large, their total numbers comprise only a small proportion of the students surveyed. The public colleges, two-year and four-year, enroll the lion's share of the Indian students attending college in the Los Angeles/Orange County area.

With the help of the presidents' appointees, questionnaires were mailed to each student at a participating college who had identified himself on his enrollment form as an American Indian, an Aleut, or an Alaskan Native. Self-report is not by any means the best manner of identifying who the Indians may be in any particular group, but this was the only way the colleges had of identifying their Indian students. A total of 162 usable responses were received. Several students returned the questionnaire, still blank, protesting that they were not Indians, so how come they got a questionnaire? Only 19% of the responses received were from current HEAP grant recipients. Some others have benefitted from the program in past semesters, but are not current participants in the program.

The survey instrument contains questions about demographic characteristics, use of student services, and assessment of the BIA Higher Education Assistance Program. To facilitate the organization of the responses into a readily comprehensible perspective, comparisons with similar data from major studies of both Indian students and non-Indians will be made, as appropriate.

Among the 162 respondents, 68 different tribes are represented. The tribe most commonly mentioned is Cherokee, at 24 persons, or 15% of the sample. Second in number are Choctaws and Chippewa. Among grant recipients responding to the survey, five (16%) are Sioux, with two each (6%) Cheyenne, Chippewa, Creek, and Paiute. Standing Rock and Bishop (California) are the reservations most commonly mentioned. Seventeen different BIA agencies were mentioned as home base, Muskogee and Aberdeen most commonly. The Indian blood quantum of respondents ranged widely. While non-recipients of the BIA grants were most commonly (37%) one-fourth Indian, and only 77% of all respondents claimed more than one-fourth Indian blood, grant recipients tended to have a higher Indian blood quantum. Documenting at least one-quarter blood of a tribe served by the Bureau is a basic prerequisite for being awarded a HEAP grant. Fifty-five percent of the grant recipients in this study were of one-half Indian blood, and 35% were full-bloods. A national study of the characteristics of HEAP recipients made by the BIA Indian Education Research Center (IERC) in 1973 reported that 47% of its 2,736 respondents were full-bloods, and 35% were either half or three-quarters.

Distribution by sex was similar to the IERC study: both indicate a majority of the students are female. This finding coincides with the most recent American Council on Education national norms (Astin, King, & Richardson, 1979) for entering freshmen of all ethnic groups in all institutions, which show the national trend of women having a slight edge over men in college enrollments. Ages of all the students responding to the Southern California survey ranged from 17 to 63, with a mean of 28 and a median of 24. Although the modal age was 24 for the grant recipients, nearly one-fifth of this group are 35 or older. Several mentioned having learned about their eligibility for BIA grants while researching sources of financial aid for their children to attend college! This is a considerable change from the IERC study in 1973, when the largest percent (33%) of respondents were in the 21 to 25 age bracket, and only 6% reported their age at over 35. As to marital status, the two studies show very similar findings, with 32% of the grant recipients in Southern California and 31% of same in the IERC study indicating that they are currently married.

Only 13 of the students responding to the Southern California survey (8% of the sample) had learned a tribal language as small children. For most of these, Navajo was the first language spoken at home. The IERC study reports that 26% of its respondents speak a tribal language.

The BIA did not appear to have exerted much influence educationally on the Los Angeles area HEAP students prior to college; only 23% had attended a Bureau high school, and only 16% had ever attended a BIA elementary school. These figures were much higher than for the entire sample, however. Of all Indian students responding (both grant recipients and others), the percentages were only 5% and 4% for BIA high school and elementary school attendance, respectively. Comparative national figures from the IERC are 16% and 18%.

The vast majority of the Southern California respondents had attended at least one college prior to the one they currently attend, a handful as many as three or four other colleges. The reasons given for withdrawal from a previous college were diverse, with most citing graduation or transfer to a four-year institution. The next most commonly mentioned reason for dropping out was financial: 10% of the HEAP participants and 7% of the non-recipients cited this problem as a reason for withdrawing from a previously attended college. None of the grant recipients and only 6% of all the respondents cited academic reasons for leaving school. Similarly, the IERC survey reported only 1% stating that they had dropped out because their academic work had been too difficult.

The importance of role models is repeatedly emphasized in the educational literature. The student who can identify with a relative or tribesman who has attended college can learn firsthand that this may be an option for him. Little challenged is the assumption that Indian students receive inadequate encouragement toward higher education from their parents, due to the philosophy commonly attributed to all tribes that the child is forbidden to better his father's accomplishments. Theorizing that attaching a high value to something they themselves lack may make parents seem unworthy in the eyes of their children, a 1971 EPDA Institute (McKinley & Kingsbury, 1972) recommended that training sessions be organized for Indian parents. Data from the Southern California study fail to show a need for such activities. Sixty-one percent of the grant recipients and 71% of all students responding said that someone in their family had attended college before them. Nearly a quarter of these specified a parent, and a tenth of the grant recipients said more that one relative had attended a college. Among HEAP grantees, 6% had college graduate mothers, and 3% college graduate fathers. In addition, the amount of emotional support Indian parents provided their student offspring was most gratifying. Nearly three-quarters of the respondents (both grant recipients and others) reported that their parents "actively encouraged" their attending college. Parental indifference, discouragement, or hostility toward this endeavor are reported by only 6%.

As to home life, a hefty majority of the students are single. Less than a third of the grant recipients and less than a fourth of all respondents are currently married. Nearly 60% of the HEAP awardees have at least one child, however, while some have as many as seven children. The majority of these have their children living with them during the school year. The 1973 IERC report indicates that only 30% of its respondents are parents.

A look at the academic majors selected by Indian students at the Los Angeles area colleges and universities offers several suprises. Most of the literature has indicated that the vast majority of Indian students (as well as other minority students) opt for the social sciences. Reasons offered for this selection differ, but most focus on either the desire of minority students to help their own people, or on the poor math and science backgrounds which discourage these students from the hard sciences. The IERC (1973) data shows 33% of students selecting either education or social work as a major. Nursing and social work followed Indian studies as the most popular major among Indian undergraduates in a Minnesota study ("Indian Students," 1974). Chavers (1979) affirms that education is the field Indian college students appear most likely to enter. Among respondents to the Southern California survey, however, only 20% have chosen a major in the social sciences, while 24% have concentrated in the humanities, and another 3% specify Indian studies. Engineering and the physical and biological sciences attract another 8%. Nearly a fifth (19% of all respondents; 16% of grant recipients) have chosen to major in business or computer science. This would seem indicative of a mainstreaming trend among these students, since it echoes ACE (Astin et al., 1979) and other recent studies which show increased interest among the nation's undergraduates in career-oriented areas, along with a departure from the liberal arts.

Another indication of the goal orientation of the Indian students in this study is found in their aspirations toward academic degrees. None of the grant recipients and only 6% of all the respondents plan to terminate their studies with a two-year degree. The vast majority hope for at least the baccalaureate. Slightly under 40% of both groups plan to work toward a masters degree. Among the higher education assistance program grantees, 23% hope to earn a doctorate, 13% a law degree, and 3% an M.D.

An important aspect of the study involves respondents' use of student services at their respective colleges and universities. Not only would this information be useful in arriving at a better picture of the population under study, but students' use of services available to them on campus is indicative of their need for services provided by the BIA, as requested in the petition submitted to the Los Angeles Field Office.

Although only 25% of all survey respondents had entered college under EOP or EOPS—a state program offering tutoring and counseling, usually financial aid, and sometimes special admissions help—55% of the BIA grant recipients had benefitted from the services of this type of program. Only 38% of this group had used EOP counseling services, however. Similarly, 45% of grant recipients versus only 25% of the nonrecipients had attended their college's orientation program for new students. Students were asked whether they were familiar with and have used several different types of student services commonly offered at area higher education institutions. Among HEAP grant recipients in the sample, 32% indicated they had used personal counseling; 90%, financial aids; 48%, health service; 22%, career counseling; 55%, academic advisement; and 16%, skills development. Among all respondents to the survey, including those Indian students not currently receiving Higher Education grants through the BIA, the responses were as follows: 42% had used personal counseling at their colleges; 24%, EOP counseling; 51%, financial aids; 35%, healthy service; 29%, career counseling; 46%, academic advisement; and 16%, skills development. The extent to which these figures reflect a typical degree of utilization of available student services is unclear. Among the IERC (1973) survey respondents, 65% had taken advantage of general counseling services available at their colleges. Trent and Medsker (1968) indicate that 37% of the college persisters of all races responding to their national study reported receiving academic advisement regularly, but less than 5% reported regular use of personal counseling. A 1978 study at Cerritos College, as reported by Farland and Hirschinger (1979), indicates that 68% of students surveyed had used counseling services at the college. The 1979 SAM longitudinal study shows 43% of students at California community colleges stating that they have no need for counseling of any kind (Farland & Hirschinger, 1979). Yet among the Indian respondents in this same study, 42% indicate a need for career counseling, and 25% want academic advisement.

It is clear that Indian students' ability to relate to and identify with the purveyors of student services does affect their use and satisfaction levels. In the IERC study (1973), the percentage of respondents who took advantage of counseling services at their college (65%) was very close to the percentage (69%) whose colleges offered counseling services specifically for Indian students—presumably counselors who are themselves Indians. Although the questionnaire in the Southern California study does not ask specifically whether the counselors the students have seen are Indian, a number of respondents indicate that this is the case. Several, all attending the state universities, make specific mention of their Indian counselor, often with high praise. It should be noted that these counselors serve in many different student services roles, including EOP counselor and financial aids advisor, as well as personal or academic counselor. It is clear that these particular counselors are respected and sought out. Empathy appears to play an important role. An Indian student can more readily trust and identify with an Indian counselor, who may have encountered some of the same difficulties the student finds himself facing. As has been suggested, Indian students do not respond well to pushing, and "it would be preferable for the counselor and the Indian student to walk side by side together" (Sandstrom & Segal, 1971, p. 42).

One type of student service the respondents used widely was financial aid. Which types of financial aid were received for the current year, and how they learned of the existence of these sources of aid, was asked of the respondents. Among the HEAP grant recipients, 71% also receive BEOG or SEOG awards; 29% receive grants from their colleges; 10%, college work-study; 10%, tribal grants; 6%, loans; and 26%, other sources of aid, such as VA or Welfare allotments. Notably, only 3% of the HEAP awardees, compared with 22% of the non-recipients receive any assistance from their parents. Only 31% of non-HEAP respondents receive BEOG awards. Sources of non-BIA support identified by respondents to the IERC (1973) survey are as follows: part-time job, 18%; tribal scholarship, 16%; Equal Opportunity Grant, 16%; church, 14%; National Defense (now Direct) Student Loan, 11%; college scholarship, 8%; work-study, 6%; state scholarship, 5%; and other, 25%. Among the HEAP grant recipients in the Southern California study, 26% had learned about the sources of financial aid (including HEAP) from their parents; 23%, a high school counselor; 19%, BIA staff; 19%, a friend; and 55%, other sources of information, which included urban Indian centers and tribal members. The IERC study (1973), which asks students how they first learned of the BIA Higher Education Program, indicates that 20% had secured the information from a high school counselor; 19%, parents; 14%, BIA staff; 11%, a friend. Percentages differ, but the order of frequency of the sources of information is identical to the Southern California study.

Since success in achieving Indian students' goals and accommodating to white society may be highly correlated with sustaining their cultural backgrounds (Byland & Shaffer, 1970), students were asked what college and/or community activities they have participated in while at college, as well as whether their friends at this time are mostly Indians. Fifty-two percent of the Southern California respondents who receive HEAP grants participate in an Indian club, and another 39% participate in other Indian activities, including powwows, the Indian centers, Indian churches, and all-Indian sports teams. Several whose colleges lack an Indian club indicate an interest in having one. Only 16% of those not receiving HEAP grants are active in an Indian club, and only 17% of that group participate in other Indian activities. Twenty-six percent of the BIA grant recipients report that their friends now are mostly Indian, whole 29% state they are about half Indians and half non-Indians. Only 3% percent of the non-recipient group indicate that they choose mostly Indians as friends.

To try to identify specific types of problems the colleges and/or the BIA may be able to help students with, respondents were asked, "If you are having problems in college, which *one* of these is your greatest problem?" Not surprisingly, respondents did not stop with one major problem; some checked as many as four or five. Most troublesome was lack of money, with 48% of the HEAP participants checking this category. Poor study habits was next, with 26%; then home problems, with 23%; and poor preparation in high school, 19%. Too few people or friends to relate to was a problem for 16%. Ten percent or fewer indicated that poor English language skills, lack of motivation to study, or home sickness was a problem. Problems of the students answering the IERC (1973) survey were quite different. Among those students, poor study habits (26%), lack of high school preparation (23%), and lack of motivation to study (18%) all presented a greater problem than lack of finance at 15%. Inflation, coupled with the high cost of living in Southern California, probably contributes to the high percentage of that group encountering money problems.

A great deal of those money problems, and of the high cost of living in this area, is related to housing. Eighty-seven percent of the BIA grantees returning the survey instrument live off campus, while only 60% of the IERC (1973) study's respondents do so. Most Indian students in Southern California attend public two-year or four-year colleges, which were designed as commuter campuses. Although 84% of the BIA grant recipients have lived in the Los Angeles/Orange county area for two years or more, 61% indicate that they would have liked some assistance in locating housing when they first came to the area.

A final section of the survey instrument asked respondents directly about the problems they encounter with their HEAP grants, and how the Bureau could better help them as students. Overall, the response was one of guarded satisfaction. Fifty-two percent of the Higher Education Assistance Program participants felt that their Agencies are meeting their needs for money at levels characterized as "OK," "Good," or "Outstanding." As to how well the Agencies are perceived as meeting students' needs for services, less satisfaction was indicated. Here, 19% indicated "Some Problems," while 29% had encountered "Many Problems." The IERC study of HEAP students (1973) shows 44% respondents rating the BIA's handling of their grants "Very Efficient," while another 38% indicate "Satisfactory," for a total of 82% indicating satisfaction.

In the Southern California study, students are asked directly: "If you have had problems with your BIA grant, please specify as many as apply." The IERC (1972) study, however, asks: "Regarding the operations of the BIA and/or tribal scholarship offices, what do you think their major strengths to be?" Thus the responses in the two studies cannot be expected to parallel each other. Nonetheless since the IERC study does not anywhere inquire directly about students' problems with HEAP grants, responses to this question are cited here for whatever comparisons and contrasts may be observed.

As can be seen in the table below, a large number of respondents specified "other" problems. These included: lack of communication between BIA and students; rigid restrictions regarding the number of units for which a grant recipients must enroll; and the opinion that the BIA should provide Indian students full funding—that is, not require HEAP participants to apply also for BEOG and campus-based forms of financial assistance.

Both studies asked respondents directly how often they have contact with the staff who administer their grants. Visits, correspondence, and telepnone calls are included. Students in the Southern California study who currently receive HEAP grants seem to have more frequent contact with BIA staff than the HEAP students responding to the IERC study: 19% of the Southern California students, and 34% of respondents to the IERC study, state "I never hear from them." This difference could be interpreted either positively or negatively. Perhaps the Southern California HEAP students have more problems with their grants, especially with checks arriving late, as indicated in Table1, and thus have greater need for contact with their Agencies. Questionnaires in both studies asked students if they believe more contact with the BIA staff would be helpful. Sixty-eight percent of the Southern California study's grant recipient respondents and 81% of the IERC survey's respondents answered this question in the affirmative.

The Southern California study asks where respondents would prefer to have received more help from the BIA when they were new to their college. The leading response to this question was locating medical and dental care, at 52% of the respondents. Another frequently indicated need was locating housing; 45% checked this response. Other areas, in order of popularity, were actual process of registering in school, 23%; finding a job for the student, 19%; and locating suitable transportation, 16%.

A final question on the survey instrument asks for an overall rating of "the services provided by the BIA to you as a student." Of the grant recipients responding to this question, 35% each rate the services as either "Good" or "Some Needs Not Met." Another 10% check "Indifferent," while the two extremes, "Wholly Satisfactory" and "Wholly unsatisfactory" each draw 6% of those responding. Somehow, the responses to this question seem to offer an accurate summary of how well the BIA is meeting the needs of the HEAP students in Southern California—some problems, but much satisfaction. The population is a highly diverse group, most urbanized, some not. Many are of traditional student age, but many are not. Enough are themselves parents to indicate that consideration need be given their special needs as student parents and, especially, as single parents. Coming from a variety of backgrounds in their socioeconomic levels, exposure to role models who have experienced higher education, degree of preparedness for college, and familiarity with the Los Angeles/Orange County area, their needs for services provided by their college by the BIA differ widely. There are two major commonalities of need among them; well-administered financial aids programs, and assistance in locating housing affordable on a student budget in an area which can boast some of the highest housing costs in the nation. September of 1980 marks the closing of the Los Angeles Field Employment Assistance Office. The number of clients served by this office had dwindled to a mere 30, from a high in previous years of 700 to 800. Budget limitations for Fiscal 1981 make this move necessary. Remaining clients will be served by the Southern California Agency in Riverside, some 55 miles distant from the Los Angeles Field Office. It is to this office that Los Angeles area HEAP students in need of aid will turn. Staff at the Riverside office have been apprised of the results of this survey. We wish them well in their additional responsibilities.

TABLE 1 Problems with BIA Grant Southern California Study, HEAP Grant Recipients Only

Problem	*Percent Stating Problem*
Checks arrive late	48
Checks often not enough	32
Staff rude or unsupportive	23
Should provide counselors through BIA as well as on campus	10
Application deadlines unreasonable	3
Should provide transportation from reservation to college	39
Other	10
No problems	0

TABLE 2 Office Strengths, IERC Study, All Respondents

Strength	*Percent Stating Strengths*
Efficient handling of applications	34
Easy to contact	27
Sensitive to student needs	10
Willing to listen	9
Go beyond call of duty to help	6
Other	14

REFERENCES

Astin, A., King, M., & Richardson, G. T. *The American freshman: National norms for Fall 1979*. Los Angeles: University of California, Laboratory for Research in Higher Education, 1979.

Byland, H. B., & Shaffer, G. M. *Social, cultural, and educational factors associated with relative vocational success of Navajo high school graduates*. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1970

Chavers, D. *The feasibility of an Indian university at Bacone College*. Unpublished report, 1979.

Farland, R., & Hirschinger, J. *Community College counseling services in California: A report by the statewide task force on counseling, with commentary and recommendations provided by staff*. Sacramento: Chancellor's Office, California Community Colleges, 1979.

Indian Education Research Center. *Higher education evaluation: Student characteristics and opinions*. Research and Evaluation Report Series No. 20-A. Albuquerque, New Mexico: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, 1973.

McKinley, F., & Kingsbury, W. T. *Financing college education for Indians*. Tempe, Arizona: National Indian Training and Research Center, 1972.

Sandstrom, R., & Segal, B. K. (Eds.). *Educating the educators: A report of the Institute on the American Indian Student in Higher Education*. Canton, New York: St. Lawerence University, 1971.

Trent, J. W., & Medsker, L. L. *Beyond high school: A psychosociological study of 10,000 high school graduates*. San Francisco, California: Jossey-Bass, 1968.

IV

THE INDIAN COLLEGE STUDENT

The previous numbered page in
the original document was blank.

ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMS FOR THE AMERICAN INDIAN COLLEGE STUDENT

ANTHONY D. BROWN

For many American Indians, entry into college is their first prolonged exposure to non-Indian society. Adjustment to this new environment has proven difficult, leaving many American Indians with an experience of failure that burdens them throughout their early adult years. Although a study by Ludeman[14] in 1960 reported that Indians have long had problems in college, until recently there were too few Indians in college to make it feasible to offer special assistance programs. This situation started to change in the late 1960s when substantially larger numbers of Indians began to enroll in higher education institutions. Kidwell[12] reports that 2,660 students received Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) scholarships in fiscal year 1968. By fiscal year 1976, that figure had grown to 15,000.[19] Figures on college attendance by Indian students without BIA grants are not available, but a reasonable estimate would place that number at 12,000.

The increasing presence of Indians in colleges and universities has been accompanied by the establishment of new programs designed to assist them in adjusting to the new environment. Adjustment programs are deemed necessary because traditional support programs available to all students are usually underutilized by Indians. The results of such special efforts for Indians are mixed. For instance, Clark[9] reports that the attrition rate at Fort Lewis College in Colorado dropped from 66.7 per cent in 1967-68 to 19 per cent in 1970-71 after the implementation of a support program for Indian students. Other schools with special programs for Indians have continued to report academic problems for their Indian students. At UCLA the dropout rate among Indian students has remained high.[1]

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

Special programs for Indian college students can substantially improve their effectiveness by being comprehensive in scope, sensitive to Indian culture, and focused on those issues thought to play a major role in the academic success of Indians. This survey will examine both the problems Indian students have in adjusting to college, and the support programs that have been established to help the students cope with these problems. Recommendations on improving higher education programs for Indians will be given at the end of this paper.

Although the decades of the 1960s and the 1970s have seen a marked increase in the number of Indian college students, Indians have attended college since the establishment of higher education in this country. Dartmouth College in New Hampshire was founded in Colonial times largely for the purpose of educating American Indians. Even at this period of early contact with Europeans, a few Indians were able to attend college successfully. During the 1830s, a college educated leadership among the Cherokee was able to establish a written constitution, a judicial system, and a tribal newspaper. Indians or Anglos attending college during this early period were very much among the elite since college attendance was not yet available to the general Indian or Anglo population. By 1936,[4] 1 out of 50 Indian high school graduates entered college; in 1950, 1 in 6 of a sample of Indian students graduating from BIA high schools entered college. A study by Bass[3] in 1971 on a sample of Indian students from New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma found that approximately one in three matriculated in college after graduation from high school.

Higher Education Programs for Indians

The rapid increase in college enrollment among Indians, coupled with their many adjustment difficulties, created a situation where the establishment of special higher education programs was inevitable. However, the catalyst for the creation of most Indian programs was the growing demand among Black students for a Black studies program on campus.[15] Thus Indian studies programs, as well as studies programs for other ethnic groups, came into college on the shirt tail of Black studies.

Pope[19] states that in 1977 there were 150 educational institutions with special programs directed at Indians. The Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education located at Boulder, Colorado, has extensively surveyed these programs.[25] Some of the programs are quite small, consisting of a single individual (usually a financial aid counselor). Other programs, like the Indian Studies program at the University of Minnesota, have departmental status within their schools.

Medicine[16] has identified three major types of Indian studies programs. The first type is an Indian studies program begun as part of the Third World movement. These typically urban programs concentrate on social activism within the Indian community. The second type is an Indian studies program that is organized as a traditional academic department within the university. The final major type is the Indian studies program that works to provide remedial and supportive services to Indian students. Although all three functions are found in most Indian studies programs, most programs have moved away from the radical activism stage.

The Indian Studies Program at California State University at Long Beach is a representative example of the Indian studies programs found across the nation. The academic staff consists of one full time individual at the associate professor level, and one person who serves jointly as faculty and as the program's director. Also on the staff is a counselor-recruiter. An advisory board composed of faculty and students, and members of the local Indian community, serves to provide direction to the program and broaden its base of support. Courses are offered in Indian law, history and culture.

Several Indians are employed at Long Beach State in strategic positions for aiding the Indian studies program. One staff person works in a campus outreach program among Indian high school students. Another Indian individual works through an Educational Opportunity program to assist Indian students with admission procedures and financial aid. Finally, the Office of Financial Aid has an Indian student employed part-time as a peer counselor for Indian students.

American Indians not connected to an Indian studies program are increasingly employed in professional positions in colleges and universities with an Indian enrollment. Such personnel are able to expand the services supplied to Indian students without creating a further burden on the budget of the campus Indian studies program. In times of shrinking enrollments, Indian studies programs with large budgets increasingly become vulnerable to financial cut backs. Declining enrollments also have caused universities to view minorities as an underutilized source of students. Thus higher education administrators are more willing to place Indian professionals in staff positions where they can recruit Indian students and help retain those currently enrolled.

It appears at this time that Indian studies programs are firmly established in higher education. However, many problems remain. Medicine[16] has noted some of these problems:

1) The step-child position of Indian studies in relation to other Third World studies;
2) The inter-tribal background of program staff;

3) The identity problems of many students who have come from urban backgrounds and thus do not fully know their tribal culture;
4) A militancy that frequently turns against the host institution;
5) The problem of creating a curriculum that encompasses the diverse tribal backgrounds of the nation's Indian; and
6) Finally, the proliferation of Indian studies programs among many small schools unable fully to support the program.

In addition to the many Indian studies programs, several specialized programs have been established at the University level. At Penn State University, a professional program has been established to graduate Indian masters and doctoral level specialists in educational administration. Graduates of this program are found today in leadership positions in Indian education programs across the nation.

At the University of California at Berkeley, a masters degree program has been set up to train Indian health professionals. A unique feature of this program is that enrolled students can attend and receive their degree at several different campuses of cooperating universities.

A masters degree program in tribal management has been set up at Northeastern State University, Tahlequah, Oklahoma. The program was established in order to meet the need for trained professional managers to run the many programs sponsored by tribal governments. A Ph.D. program in psychology has been established for Indians at Oklahoma State University. Specialization is offered in the clinical, experimental, and social areas of psychology. At this time three Indian Ph.D.'s have graduated from the program.

New Mexico University has established a special program to train Indian lawyers. Graduates of this program have been very active in several cases concerning Indian treaty rights and in working on legislation affecting Indians.

The Indian studies program at UCLA is unique among programs in the country in that it was established as a research unit within the University. The program does not itself offer Indian oriented courses. Instead, the UCLA Indian Studies Center sponsors research on Indians and their culture. The program also supports research activities through its publication unit and large library.

The final higher education Indian program to be described is the Indian controlled community college. Sinte Gleska College on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation is representative of the many programs that have been established. Begun in 1972, there are now approximately 600 full and part-time students enrolled in classes that are held in nine communities on the reservation. The objectives of Sinte Gleska College are to bring higher education to the Indian community; to coordinate educational courses with local employers in order to provide career ladders; to provide for continuous progress toward degree credentials; and to provide special educational courses, such as courses in the Lakota language, to meet the cultural needs of the reservation community.

The Indian students that the above programs service have been extensively profiled. A BIA study found that most Indian students:

1) were in the 18-25 year age group;
2) had poorly educated parents;
3) felt that their parents were the prime motivators for their attending college; and
4) rarely had attended BIA high schools.

The BIA study is the largest study (3000 Indian students in the sample) ever conducted on Indian college students. Unfortunately, no attempt was made in the study to determine the adequacy of higher education programs that have been established to help them adjust to college.

Financial Aid

Campus financial aid programs are second only to Indian studies programs in their impact on Indian students attending college. These programs are especially necessary because Indian parents are typically unable to provide support for their children to attend college. The unique eligibility requirements of BIA grants also make it necessary that special financial aid counselors be available to Indian students. The Bureau provides scholarship grants on the basis of a person having "one-fourth or more degree American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut blood, as recognized by a tribal group served by the Bureau of Indian Affairs."[5] Many of the decisions on eligibility and grant amount are made at field offices of the BIA. Consequently the financial aid counselor serves in a liaison capacity between the school and the BIA. Basic Educational Opportunity grants, along with BIA grants, constitute the primary funding of Indian college students.

During the 1960s, the BIA provided the majority of an eligible student's support money. The policy of joining the two aid programs began when the BIA started to believe that schools were conducting "surrounds" in Indian communities in order to obtain minority students who came with their own financial support. The BIA was concerned that after they paid a student's university expenses for an entire semester, they might lose all the money when the student went through a revolving door system at the school. Thus, the BIA sought to encourage from the university a financial commitment to the Indian students they enrolled.

For many Indian students, tribal scholarship programs are major sources of funds for college. The Navajo tribe's scholarship fund, numbering in the millions, is the largest of the tribal support funds.

The adequacy of support funds available to American Indian college students is an area of controversy. In fiscal year 1976, 5,000 applicants for BIA grants were turned down.[19] Yet for students actually enrolled in school, studies have found they do not identify lack of funds as a major problem that hinders their academic achievement. Berry[4] writes: "Reading the literature leads one to suspect that financial difficulties play a subsidiary role, but not a dominant one, in the academic failures of Indian college students." It is this writer's view that BIA and Basic Educational Opportunity grants supplied to eligible Indian students adequately cover such expenses as room and board, tuition and books. On the other hand, the Indian student does lack funds to cover such secondary expenses as entertainment, laundry, clothes and transportation. Artichoker and Palmer's[2] study in 1957 noted that Indian students lacked funds for secondary expenses—indicating that this financial support area has been a long term problem for Indian students in spite of greatly increased tribal and federal assistance. The typical Indian student's parents can provide only small amounts of money for secondary expenses. When the Indian student sees that the non-Indian student has far more money than he has for secondary expenses, he tends to become discouraged and alienated from the college environment.

Counseling

Academic and adjustment counseling programs for Indians are a standard feature at universities interested in assisting Indian students to adjust to a new environment. The counselor, frequently an Indian, may be part of an Indian studies program, or part of a federally sponsored campus Educational Opportunity program. Although at some campuses there is a separate position for student recruiter, these duties are usually an additional responsibility of the counselor.

The recent general decline in the number of Indian students at many campuses has led to a greater emphasis by counselors on recruiting. Considerable funds are now being spent by schools to recruit Indian students. Because Indians are scattered throughout the nation, recruiters are required to travel a great deal. The larger Indian studies programs and all of the professional degree programs recruit nationally. The large federal Indian schools are usually visited, as well as the conventions of the major national Indian organizations.

Even though counselors are concerned with recruitment, their major efforts are concentrated on improving the personal adjustment and academic performance of Indian students. The counselors at most schools use traditional counseling approaches to meet these problems. Consequently, many schools require that their counselors possess a graduate degree in counseling.

Although many programs have been established for Indians in higher education, it is clear that problems remain. The following section points out some of these problems.

Academic Performance of Indian College Students

The academic performance of Indian college students is of great concern because Indian students as a group typically demonstrate low academic achievement. Their generally poor performance is a continuation of the scholastic problems Indians experience in secondary school. Brown[7] reviewed the academic achievement of Indian students and found that by high school they consistently scored below Anglo comparison groups on standardized achievement tests.

Several studies have provided that Indian college students continue to exhibit the poor academic performance they demonstrate at the secondary school level. In one of the earlier studies, Zintz[26] surveyed 100 Indians enrolled at the University of New Mexico between 1954 and 1958 and found that 70 per cent dropped out with low grades. In a related study, Zintz studied the records of 31 Indian students enrolled at the University of New Mexico in the fall semester of 1958. He found that 84 per cent of these students achieved less than a "C" average grade.

Norris[17] studied grade point average among Indians enrolled at the University of New Mexico in the fall semester of 1958 and found that the grade point average for freshmen was 1.96 on a four-point scale.

Staff members of the UCLA American Indian Studies Center studied academic achievement among Indian students enrolled at UCLA during the academic years 1969-70 through 1972-73.[1] They found that Indian students taking regular lower division courses accumulated a 1.85 grade point average; in upper division courses they achieved a 2.15 average.

Very few studies of the academic achievement of Indian college students have used classroom grades as a dependent variable. Instead, most of the studies that have attempted to document the academic difficulties which Indian students experience in college have focused on student attrition rate. Brown[7] has pointed out that dropout studies offer valid indices of educational success; at the same time they avoid the problems inherent in standardized achievement tests and classroom grades.

Ludeman[14] examined the records of 112 Indian students enrolled at South Dakota's Southern State Teachers College during the years 1925 to 1958. He found that 32 per cent attended one quarter or less, and nearly 50 per cent attended one year or less.

Zintz[26] found that of 100 Indians enrolled at New Mexico University between 1954 and 1958, 70 per cent left school, 20 per cent were still enrolled, and 10 per cent had received degrees. During the period of his study, the attrition rate for all University of New Mexico freshmen was 49 per cent.

Writing in 1967, Salisbury[22] reported that 50 per cent of Indians enrolled at the University of Alaska usually drop out by the end of their freshman year, and less than 2 per cent go on to complete a degree.

Although the 1969 report of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education[23] primarily focused on the years prior to college, the Subcommittee had this to say about Indians in college:

> In an average class of 400 Indian students in Bureau high schools, 240 can be expected to graduate from high school. Of these 240, 67 can be expected to attend college. Of these 67, only 19 will graduate from college.

Finally, a study conducted at UCLA found the following dropout rates for Indian students during their first year of school:[1]

School Year	*# Entering Students*	*% Left School By End of First Year*
1969-70	77	49
1970-71	37	30
1971-72	47	17
1972-73	65	63

Because of the potential problems in validity and reliability, Berry[4] has cautioned that care should be taken in interpreting dropout statistics. Berry also notes that dropout rates are high among Anglos in college. Nevertheless, no one seriously doubts that the dropout rate among Indians in college is high.

Background Factors Affecting College Adjustment

The attribution of factors involved in the academic performance and personal adjustment of Indian college students is a major concern of researchers. The background factors thought to be important fall into three categories: cultural factors, socioeconomic status, and academic preparation.

Artichoker and Palmer[2] conducted one of the first studies to examine adjustment of American Indian college students. Their study covered Indian students attending four colleges in South Dakota in 1957. Information was obtained from the students by use of a questionnaire and the Mooney Problem Check List. After making a comparison of the responses given by Indian students and an Anglo control group, the researchers concluded both groups had similar adjustment problems, with the problems of Indian students being more severe. The two researchers found that the main problems for Indians were: 1) inadequate preparation for college; 2) lack of funds for incidental expenses; 3) inability to relate present schooling to a future career; and 4) concern about family matters.

Quimby[20] conducted a study among Indian students attending Arizona colleges from September, 1958 through February, 1962. The purpose of the study was to analyze cultural, social, economic and academic problems of Indian college students. Quimby found that:

1) economic problems were not a major factor affecting success or failure of Indian students;
2) variables such as parents' attitude toward student attending college, languages spoken by father, student's competency in the tribal language, and student's marital status, together contributed the major portion of discrimination power between successful and non-successful students;
3) non-successful Indian students had more close friends than successful students; and
4) successful students spent more average hours per week in the library than did unsuccessful students.

A study by Voyich[24] also examined the variables associated with the performance of Indian college students. The subjects of his study were 182 Indian students enrolled at Montana State University from September, 1967 through June, 1972. Voyich found that successful Indian students tended to:

1) be older
2) possess a smaller degree of Indian blood;
3) be monolingual, English language speakers;
4) be from smaller families;
5) have low attendance at the campus Indian club;
6) be married; and
7) carry a larger course load.

Lawrence[13] studied a sample of 137 North Dakota Indian students enrolled in 1970-71 to determine the relationship of several variables to their satisfaction in college. He found:

1) There was a significant relationship between the amount of assistance (non-financial) the American Indian students received in planning their first year's program and their satisfaction in college.
2) There was a significant relationship between a college orientation program and the Indian student's satisfaction in college.
3) There was a significant relationship between the degree of socialization with non-Indians and the satisfaction of Indian students in college.
4) There was a significant relationship between the degree of satisfaction with social life and the Indian student's satisfaction in college.

In a study conducted by Clark,[9] emphasis was placed upon the student's perception of their own adjustment problems in college. The sample consisted of 350 Indian students enrolled at Brigham Young University, Fort Lewis College, Northern Arizona University, and Arizona State University. Among the problems reported by the students were inadequate high school preparation, poor study skills, and financial difficulties.

Clark also studied how a sample of non-Indian faculty members viewed the problems of Indian college students. The faculty members believed that Indian students possessed inadequate study skills, were deficient in English language usage, and were hampered by poor high school preparation.

Berry's[4] review of the research literature is a good summary of the background factors thought to contribute to the poor adjustment and academic performance of Indian college students. Berry found the following factors most commonly cited in the literature:

1) Insufficient money.
2) Conflict of values.
3) Poor academic preparation.
4) Language, especially lack of facility in English and in related verbal skills.
5) The college environment.
6) Family and community background.

Recommendations for Program Improvement

It is clear from a review of the literature that American Indian students have considerable trouble in adjusting to college. Although none of the problems appear insurmountable, they are made more difficult because many of the problems are related to personalogical factors in the student's background. There are, however, changes that colleges can make to increase the effectiveness of the programs they provide to Indian college students. The following recommendations for improvement in college programs for Indians are presented in an itemized format in order to provide the comprehensiveness that is needed. The recommendations are based on a review of the literature and on this writer's experience in higher education programs for Indians.

> Care should be taken in recruiting freshman Indian students because there is some indication that Indian students are being over-recruited.[8] The ingredients for over-recruitment are now present, including the fact that large amounts of money from both the BIA and tribal governments is distributed to students on the basis of financial need rather than because of academic merit. Picotte[18] has noted that many Indians reported they attended college primarily because funds were provided to them, rather than because they viewed college attendance as a means to achieve some long term vocational goal. Increasing competition among college Indian programs has sent recruiters scouring Indian communities. As a result, Indians who are only marginally interested in attending college are persuaded to enroll. Such recruitment practices may be a major contribution to the high dropout rate among Indian college freshmen. A possible solution would involve bringing in the high school counselor as a third member of the recruitment process. Attending college should not be a last minute decision. A college preparatory program should be started in the ninth grade. Indian students who do not make the decision to attend college until late in their senior year should be encouraged by the recruiter and the high school counselor to attend a local community college.
>
> The usual procedure for the larger Indian programs is for the recruiter to seek Indian students on a national basis. It would be better if there was a concentration within a single region of the country. In this way, the recruiter would be able to get to know both the high school students and the high school counselor. This recruitment procedure is used quite successfully by major college athletic programs. In addition to confining their recruitment efforts within a single region, the larger Indian programs should coordinate their recruitment programs within a service area. The formation of higher education program associations is being discussed at the region and national levels among Indians in higher education. If such an organization forms, one of its first tasks should be an informal allocation of recruitment responsibilities within a region. Such a recruitment plan would go a long way toward easing wasteful competition among college Indian programs for the same Indian high school students.
>
> Indian programs in four year schools should coordinate their recruitment activities with the staff at Indian controlled community colleges. Some schools, such as Haskell Junior College at Lawrence, Kansas, primarily emphasize a vocational curriculum. But in many cases, the community colleges serve as prep schools for the four year colleges. Indian students graduating from these schools have gained maturity and at the same time have avoided many of the traumas that Indian students experience at the large four year schools. Such students are good prospects to succeed in the specialized

academic programs available at universities. An established organization such as the American Indian Higher Education Consortium, Inc., could play a facilitating role between Indian controlled community colleges and recruiters from Indian programs at four year schools.

Schools with Indian students enrolled should attempt to hire Indian professional staff, in addition to those previously hired for their Indian support programs. In most cases, duties of these career professionals would only occasionally involve working directly with Indian students. By such hirings, Indian students would perceive that the school administration is making a long term commitment to the continued presence of Indians on campus. Many Indian students believe that school administrators only tolerate Indian programs on campus because the programs often bring in federal funds. Hiring Indian professionals in non-Indian program positions would provide effective role models for Indian students and help convince them the Indians are a legitimate part of higher education.

College administrators should be aware that educational support programs provided to Indians are the result of treaties between the tribes and the federal government.[10] Consequently, many Indians come to college expecting that special adjustment programs—remedial, counseling, and financial—will routinely be made available to them. The Indian student does not consider these programs as charity or welfare. When Indian students are expected to utilize programs that are not designated for Indians, but are available to all students, there is a tendency for them not to make use of the programs, even when the student recognizes that he is in need of the supportive services. This problem can be partially avoided by implementing the previous recommendation.

Freshman Indian students should be allowed to take the first year course work on a pass/fail basis. Both Voyich[24] and Norris[17] have noted that Indian students start to show a much improved academic performance in their junior and senior years. Taking the first year on a pass/fail basis would avoid the problem many Indians experience of having early academic failures depress their grade point average to such extent that they are prevented from entering most graduate programs.

Premature selection of academic majors is a problem with all students. It is especially a problem among Indians because of their limited exposure to a wide variety of careers, and because of the generally inadequate vocational counseling they receive in their high schools. Indian students should be encouraged to wait until their sophomore year to declare a major. In this way, they may be able to avoid the false starts that force many Indian students to take five years to complete a four-year degree program.

Ross[21] has noted that Indian students receiving BIA grants are uncertain that they will receive a grant from semester to semester. Such uncertainty builds considerable anxiety in the student. He recommends that the student be assured continued support for four years. Ross' recommendation is basically sound, but does need some modification. A contract should be established between the BIA and the Indian student, with each party of the contract accepting a share of the responsibilities written out in the contract.

The student should agree to achieve a specified grade point average in a minimum amount of courses each semester. An allowance for a probationary semester should be a contract provision in the event that the student fails to reach his goal. The BIA would in turn agree to provide the student with the necessary support funds to complete a degree program. The contractual system would help to remove the paternalistic, dependent nature of the present BIA-Indian student relationship.

A moritorium should be declared on the establishment of new Indian studies programs in higher education. The moritorium is needed because of the strong possibility that there are not enough Indian students to support both current programs and the newly established ones. At a regional meeting of Western Indian studies programs at San Diego in the Summer, 1979, there was an expression of concern that the declining enrollment of Indian students was jeopardizing the funding levels of Indian studies programs. The apparent cause of declining enrollment is the proliferation of Indian programs among many small schools across the country. The increased competition for the fairly stable supply of Indian students has resulted in most college Indian programs receiving fewer students. Some programs have seen their number of new admissions drop to one-fourth of what it was seven years ago. Until an accurate projection can be made of expected Indian college attendance in the 1980s, the establishment of new Indian programs in college should be halted.

As pointed out in the financial aid section, a method needs to be found to fund the Indian student's secondary costs of attending college. Secondary costs are such expenses as laundry, transportation (in some cases car ownership costs), entertainment, and clothes. First, the BIA and the campus financial aid office need to agree on a policy statement that declares that secondary costs are a legitimate part of the Indian student's financial aid requirements. Next, an individual budget should be prepared with each student. The budget would consist of fundamental and discretionary cost sections. Fundamental costs are the actual student costs for tuition, room and board at a dormitory, and books. Discretionary costs would include all secondary expenses. Each month the student should receive a stipend to be allocated to cover secondary expenses. All the students on a campus should receive the same amount, but be allowed to decide for themselves which secondary expenses are the most important. For instance, some students might decide to use part of their discretionary stipend to pay the additional cost of living off campus in an apartment. Those students submitting a substantially larger budget request should be allowed to work without having their discretionary stipend cut back.

Although the greater part of this article has focused on the problems Indian students are having in college, it should be noted that many Indian students adjust well to the new college environment. A number of Indian students at UCLA have made an "A" average in their undergraduate work and have gone on to do graduate work at Ivy League schools. In addition, English and Settle[11] have noted that 2,476 Indians received bachelor degrees during the 1973–74 school year. Undoubtedly, many of these graduates owe their success to the establishment of college support programs for Indians. Many more graduates are needed if Indian people are to continue to make progress toward self-determination and economic self-sufficiency. A general improvement in current adjustment programs will help ensure that thousands more Indian students will be able to overcome the many higher education barriers that exist for them today.

REFERENCES

1. Academic Achievement Study of Undergraduate American Indian Students. Staff of UCLA American Indian Studies Center. *Annual Report 1973–74.*
2. Artichoker, John H. and Neil M. Palmer. The Sioux Indian Goes to College. Institute of Indian Studies. University of South Dakota, Vermillion, 1959.
3. Bass, Willard P. An Analysis of the Academic Achievement of Indian High School Students in Federal and Public Schools. Albuquerque; Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, 1971.
4. Berry, Brewton. The Education of the American Indians: A Survey of the Literature. Ohio State University, Columbus, 1968.
5. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Scholarships for American Indians. Branch of Higher Education. Albuquerque, New Mexico. No date. (Brochure)
6. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Higher Education Evaluation: Student Characteristics and Opinions. June, 1973.
7. Brown, Anthony D. The Cross-Over Effect: A Legitimate Issue in American Indian Education? In *Multicultural Education and the American Indian*. American Indian Studies Center. University of California Press. Los Angeles. 1979.
8. Churchill, Ward and Norbert S. Hill, Jr. Indian Education at the University Level: An Historical Survey. *The Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 1979, 7:3.
9. Clark, Richard O. Higher Education Programs for American Indians at Selected Southwestern Colleges and Universities. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California. 1972.
10. Deloria, Vine. The Right to Know. Paper prepared for the White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information Services on or Near Reservations. Denver, Colorado. 1978.
11. English, R. and K. Settle. Minority Students in Higher Education."Integrated Education," May–June, 1976, 14:3.
12. Kidwell, Clara Sue. Native American Studies: Academic Concerns and Community Service. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal.* 1978, 2:3 & 4.
13. Lawernce, Duane L. A study of the Variables Related to Satisfaction of North Dakota American Indian Students in Higher Education. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of North Dakota. Grand Forks. 1974.
14. Ludeman, W. The Indian Student in College. *Journal of Educational Sociology.* 1960, 33:7.

15. McComb, Marlin R. Native American Programs as Socio-Cultural Adaptive Mechanisms to the College Environment: A Case Comparison of the University of Oregon and Oregon State University. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Oregon State University. Corvallis. 1975.
16. Medicine, Beatrice. The Anthropologist and the American Indian Studies Program. *The Indian Historian*. 1971, 4:15–18.
17. Norris, Robert. The Effects of Selected Cultural Variables Influencing the College Performances of Native American Indians. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. The University of New Mexico. Albuquerque. 1971.
18. Picotte, Agnes. An Analysis of Statements Made by Indian College Students Concerning Success or Failure in Four-Year Colleges in Oregon. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Oregon. Eugene. 1974.
19. Pope, Albert W. An Exploration of the University Environment as Percieved by Native American Freshmen. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Utah. Salt Lake City. 1977.
20. Quimby, R. American Indian Students in Arizona Colleges: A Discriminant Analysis of Select Variables that Contribute to Success and Failure. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Arizona State University. 1963.
21. Ross, Donald D. A Psychological and Philosophical Foundation for Counseling Amerindian College Students. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of South Dakota. Vermillion. 1975.
22. Salisbury, Lee H. Teaching English to Alaska Natives. *Journal of American Indian Education*. 1967, 6:2.
23. U.S. Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Special Subcommittee Report on *Indian Education: A National Tragedy – A National Challenge*. Report No.91–501 91st Congress. 1969.
24. Voyich, Daniel L. A Study of Selected Characteristics of Successful and Unsuccessful American Indian Students Enrolled at Montana State University from September, 1967 to June, 1972. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Montana State University. Bozeman. 1974.
25. Western Interstate Commision for Higher Education. A Survey of College and University Programs for American Indians. Boulder, Colorado. 1978.
26. Zintz, Miles V. *Education Across Cultures*. William C. Brown Book Company. Dubuque, Iowa. 1963.

THE HERITAGE CONSISTENCY CONTINUUM IN COUNSELING NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENTS

DARRYL ZITZOW
GEORGE ESTES

Introduction

Literature concerning the effectiveness of assisting Native American students in today's social or academic environments is sketchy and appears to lack positive resources for establishing awareness toward effective problem resolutions in counseling environments.

The important efforts (Byrde, 1971) in responding to the Native American counseling dilemma appear sociological with a flavor focusing on cultural differences. The compared differences, rather than positive similarities with the dominant culture, become the area of attention and counselors are forced either (a) to assume a "paternalism" paralleling the efforts of past and current governmental policies toward Native Americans or (b) because of the lack of cultural education (counselor or client) restrict approaches and resources in favor of rescuing Native American individuals with a "missionary plight." In addition, the literature prophesizes failure with statements, such as "because of the Native American's experience of oppression and exploitation . . . it is doubtful that the social worker, regardless of racial identity, could bring about any major change" (Lewis, 1979).

The discussions concerning rituals and customs are improtant in promoting better understanding of prospective Native American clients (Bryde, 1971b) but have the effect of forsaking tribal and individual identity. The generalities can be punishing. What is right for one "Indian" is not necessarily right for "all Indians."

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

In effect, because recommendations appear as non-comprehensive and non-individualized series of suggestions, the net result is a reduction of counselor effectiveness and the inherent possibility of creating a new system of prejudice. Helping professionals merely have another list of preconceived notions regarding how to deal with Native Americans in counseling and/or social environments.

One often overlooked individual Native American characteristic that is crucial in developing understanding in counseling is the degree to which the individual's lifestyle reflects his/her tribal culture. The words "traditional" or "non-traditional" are no longer appropriate. More appropriate designations are as follows:

Heritage Consistent Native American (HCNA): A Native American whose predominant lifestyle and behavior reflects major elements of the milieu of his/her historical tribal culture.

Heritage Inconsistent Native American (HINA): A Native American whose predominant lifestyle and behavior reflects major elements of the dominant non-Native American culture.

These are not absolutes. Native Americans are affected by several cultures—to rigidly classify would be to establish another prejudicial system.

Ideally, in counseling, any Native American must first be regarded not as a member of tribe or race, but as an individual. However, a critical element of individuals is "heritage consistency." Theoretically, value characteristics indicating heritage consistency persist on a continuum. Therefore, individuals are not categorized in exclusive groups, but rather, possess value characteristics of both heritage consistency and heritage inconsistency. Any position on the continuum is viewed as acceptable. The value of the continuum in discussion regarding HCNA or HINA is directly related to the degree it is used to establish individual awareness of self-identity and growth. We may engage in activities from both ends of the continuum. A note of caution: The value of the continuum is not so much where an individual places him/herself, but the vented concerns the he/she suggest in the self-positioning process.

Factors Indicating Heritage Consistency

The degree of heritage consistency can be determined according to the number of positive responses an individual makes to the following items. The greater the similarity of experience, the greater the heritage consistency:

1. Childhood development occurred on or near respective reservations.
2. Extended family members encouraged participation in traditional religious and other cultural activities.

3. Individual engaged in frequent visitations to the reservation(s).
4. Family home base is presently on or near a reservation.
5. Individual has participated in Native American cultural events (i.e., singing, dancing, give-aways, pow-wows (Wacipis).)
6. Individual maintains regular contact with and/or was raised in an extended family setting.
7. Individual's name reflects past Native American customs and traditions.
8. Individual was educated on or near the reservation or in a Native American boarding school.
9. Individual engages in social activities primarily with other Native American "Heritage Consistent" persons.
10. Individual has at least a minimal knowledge about his/her culture or possesses a desire to learn.
11. Individual possesses elements of personal pride extracted from the Native American culture.
12. Individual incorporates elements of historical beliefs and practices into his/her present religious philosophy.
13. Individual places a low priority on the accumulation of possessions and other materialistic goods.
14. Individual considers sharing with extended family members necessity.
15. Individual uses shyness and silence to indicate respect.

Possible Issues in Counseling the Heritage Consistent

The degree of heritage consistency can suggest a series of related counseling and/or social concerns. Possible counseling concerns are listed below:

1. The individual may have a support system and/or sense of security limited to the extended family or "home" reservation.
2. The individual may have difficulty expressing him/herself through the English language. He/She may tend to use more non-verbals in expressions.
3. The individual may refuse to engage socially with anyone other than HCNA persons.
4. The individual may lack social skills in communicating with non-Native Americans.
5. The individual may lack basic learning skills.
6. The individual may have difficulty incorporating the value of education into his/her own belief system.
7. The individual may perceive a conflict between motivation to learn and obtaining acceptance "back home on the reservation."
8. The individual may possess a prevailing fear of failure and the subsequent repercussions from both extended family and reservation members.
9. The individual may perceive non-acceptance or estrangement from those who are not "heritage consistant" and from the same reservation. (This is in conflict with the motivation to establish a general sense of cohesiveness among Native Americans.)

10. Material goods may fail to reinforce long term goal-setting or behavioral change in the individual.
11. Hiding emotions may be perceived by the individual as a positive personality trait.
12. The individual may lack budgeting skills with time and financial resources.
13. Paternalism from the government agencies and maternalism in the extended family may diminish the individual's sense of personal responsibility for problem resolution.
14. The individual may lack decision-making skills.
15. The individual may have difficulty in planning future goals.
16. The individual may lack assertiveness skills.
17. The individual may be unfamiliar with the dominant culture and its expectations.
18. The individual may lack positive developmental role models.

Some Problems in Implementation

Many of the Native American specific counseling recommendations have attempted to respond to special considerations for only the HCNA. These recommendations are often not appropriate for the Heritage Inconsistent Native American.

CASE STUDY "A":

An HINA teenage female, adopted and raised since childhood by a non-Native American family, away from her reservation, experienced different concerns than her natural HCNA sister, who was raised in an extended family and educated on the reservation. While in attendance at the pow-wow, the HCNA sister delights in singing and dancing and has established pride and identity through her culture. Because of unfamiliarity and apprehensive fear of the dominant society, she lacks motivation and techniques for a broader sense of achievement.

The HINA sister is not interested in participating in the traditional activities; she lacks knowledge of the rituals and feels guilty for being unable to speak in the native tongue. Feeling alienated from the event, she leaves to attend a drive-in in town with non-Native American friends. Here she still feels somewhat different and embarrassed for the color of her skin, yet she feels more comfortable than in her native culture.

Clearly the implications for counseling each of the sisters is different. The HCNA sister requires skills for coping with the dominant culture, the HINA suffers value and identity conflicts. The conditions for her own self-acceptance are more difficult to obtain.

It is imperative that the counselor consider degree of heritage consistency as a secondary consideration within the counseling session. The primary concerns of establishing rapport and understanding the individual is tantamount to any counseling approach. Additionally, making assumptions before collecting appropriate data can lead to embarrassment and resistance for potential clients, as illustrated in the following example:

> CASE STUDY "B":
>
> A Native American student came in to visit with one of the authors in the Counseling Center. The counselor, assuming the student to be heritage consistent because of his long hair, traditional last name and style of dress, spoke and said good morning in the Lakota dialect. The student looked confused and embarrassed. He admitted feeling guilty for not knowing his Native language. The counselor had wrongly assumed consistency and acted accordingly before he had established an accurate understanding of the student.

Possible Issues in Counseling the Heritage Inconsistent

The degree of heritage inconsistency can suggest the following issues in counseling:

Possible issues in counseling the HINA individual:

1. The individual may engage in denial of being Native American.
2. The individual may suffer from alienation, lack of identity.
3. The individual may possess guilt for not knowing or not participating in his/her native culture.
4. The individual may suffer a distinct lack of pride.
5. The individual resists the offers of others to re-engage with the cultural heritage.
6. The individual may experience pressure to adopt non-Native American values.
7. The individual may experience pressure to adopt HCNA values and beliefs.
8. The individual may possess a negative image of the Native American race in general.
9. The individual may lack a support system for being Native American.
10. The individual may lack a belief system due to the lack of heritage experience.

Major counseling issues for Native Americans in general:

1) Alcoholism—with the individual, family or social relationships.
2) Sense of distrust toward non-Native American helping professionals.
3) General stress of cultural discrimination.
4) Some degree of alienation (lack of identity).
5) Lack of successful Native American role models.
6) Fear of failure, success or ridicule.

7) Frustration experienced when others respond to them as members of a race and not as individuals.
8) Possible sense of separation and alienation from tribe and extended family as a result of personal commitments to education or achievement of personal successes.

Some Final Suggestions

With sensitivity for the individual and the individual's "Heritage Cultural Consistency," the following suggestions are pertinent for bringing about awareness in a helping professional settings:

1) Respond to the Native American as an individual first, but with a sensitivity for heritage cultural consistency concerns.
2) Recognize that a positive relationship of mutual trust is the first essential requirement before continuing.
3) Engage in a discussion regarding real and ideal self-placement on the continuum.
4) If incongruency persists regarding real or ideal self, establish contracts to promote behavioral change.
5) Discuss the relationship between the degrees of Heritage Cultural Consistency and futility in the individual's life goals.
6) Use self placement on the continuum as a tool for establishing individual identity and an opportunity to marshal support for the individual.
7) Encourage the individual to examine his/her concept of self and the impact on the current culture milieu, Native American cultures or the non-Native American dominant society.
8) Encourage the individual to identify those resources that "recharge" or support currently identity.
9) Before meeting with the individual, do not make assumptions regarding:
   a) the preconceived effectiveness or ineffectiveness of any counseling techniques (e. g., to be only non-directive);
   b) the individual's attitude toward you (e. g., silence may not indicate a lack of respect for you);
   c) the individual's attitude toward self (e.g., shy body language may not indicate a poor self-concept);
   d) the individual's attitude about being Native American (e.g., feeling proud or ashamed); and
   e) the individual's level of knowledge and familiarity with his/her cultural legacy.
10) Be sensitive to the body language of both yourself and the individual.
11) Do not assume responsibility for the individual (i.e., do not get pulled into the maternal expectations of the individual).
12) Be sensitive to your own biases regarding Native American people and attempt to disallow their interference in the session.
13) Recognize that humor exists as an integral part of Native American cultures.
14) Recognize that counselor availability as perceived by Native Americans is not restricted to an eight-hour work day.

The concept of heritage consistency provides both a unique tool for self definition and acceptance as well as a pragmatic blueprint for therapeutic charge. It serves to compliment current counseling theories that focus first on the individual and secondarily on concerns related to the individual. The key is to use heritage consistency not as just another means of categorization, but rather as a structure in achieving individual awareness and identity.

NOTES

1. John F. Bryde, *Modern Indian Psychology* (Vermillion, SD: Institute of Indian Studies, University of South Dakota, 1971).
2. Ronald G. Lewis, and Man Keung Ho, "Social Work with Native Americans," in *Counseling American Minorities* (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Co., 1979).
3. John F. Bryde, *Indian Students and Guidance* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1971);
   Richard Erdoes, *The Sundance People* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1967); Clair Huffaker, *Nobody Loves a Drunken Indian* (New York: David McKay Co. 1967); and Stan Steiner, *The New Indians* (New York: Harper and Row Pub. Inc, 1968).

V

CURRICULUM RESEARCH

The previous numbered page in
the original document was blank.

CURRICULUM RESEARCH FOR AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION: ALCOHOL AND THE AMERICAN INDIAN

WILLARD BILL

> "The Institute has decided that the greatest research problem for minorities is psychological resulting from the impact of racism rather than the biological areas where more whites are disabled because of genetic deficiencies."[1]

Alcohol abuse among the American Indian and Alaskan Native is the most visible effect of the cultural disorganization of the aboriginal peoples of North America resulting from the Contact Period. Alcohol was introduced into North America with the increasing migration of Europeans into the continent and the interaction between the cultures. This section will be devoted to the alcohol abuse problem as is exists for the American Indian and Alaskan Native, and suggest curriculum development that is appropriate for the prevention of the individual's problem of alcohol abuse.

Cultural Contact—Resultant Stress

The literature is fairly replete with incidences of problems that occurred during the Contact Period between American Indians and Immigrants to North America. As European entrepreneurs immigrated into North America, conflicts developed for the plentiful natural resources. This competition for the above-ground resources has existed since that time, and in the last quarter of the twentieth century there will be increasing competition for below-ground resources. This conflict has resulted in stressful situations for the American Indian and he has exhibited a number of methods for dealing with this phenomenon, including the consumption of alcohol.

Bales has noted some of the methods that cultures utilize to deal with stress. He states that there are three ways in which cultures can have an

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

impact on the rate of alcoholism. He states:

> The first is the degree to which the culture operates to bring about acute needs for adjustment, or "inner tensions in its members." There are many of these, culturally induced anxiety, guilt, conflict, suppressed aggression, and sexual tensions of various sorts may be taken as examples. The second way is the sort of attitudes toward drinking which the culture produces in its members. . . The crucial factor seems to be whether a given attitude toward drinking positively suggests drinking to the individual as a means of relieving his inner tensions, or whether such a thought arouses a strong counter anxiety. The third general way is the degree to which the culture provides suitable substitute means of satisfaction.[2]

Concerned American Indian and Alaskan Native people have been working in the area of alcoholism prevention, and coping skills and rehabilitation since at least the 1960s. Their work has been on the cutting edge of the problem.

Native Americans are aware of the stress of living in contemporary society, and many individuals have devoted a considerable amount of their careers to alcoholism prevention. With the advent of federal funding at the national level, many Indian people became involved in trying to solve the alcohol-abuse problem at the local level. These efforts often focused on the rehabilitative phase of the alcoholic. Funds were also allocated to rehabilitate the long-time user who had become dependent upon alcohol.

The Problem

In 1971 the Indian Health Service reported that it provided services to 469,632 people, eighty-five percent of whom were treated for alcoholism. They live in twenty-four states that have Indian reservations. The population served represents about one-half of the Indians in the United States. Other Indians live in cities where they do not receive health care. Or, they are members of "non-recognized" tribes, bands, or clans, and do not receive care as provided by the Indian Health Service.

Demographic data reveal that Indians are born at almost twice the rate of the general population. In 1971 Indians had a birth rate of 33.0/1,000, while the general population had a rate of 17.3/1,000. The birth rate for Indians decreased slightly from 1955 to 1971, but in the period of 1971 to 1976, the birth remained fairly constant.

Data also revealed that Indians die at a ratio of 4.1 when compared to the general population. Table 1 illustrates the death rate of Indians compared to the United States. Note the statistics for cirrhosis of the liver as reported by the Indian Health Service.

TABLE 1 Ade-Adjusted Deaths Rates

	Indian Health Service	*Total*	*United States white*	*All other*	*Ratio of IHS to United States*
All causes	968.8	701.8	667.6	965.4	1.4
Major cardiovascular disease	237.0	333.8	324.7	409.1	.7
Diseases of heart	167.7	249.3	244.9	283.1	.7
Cerebrovascular disease	53.0	65.0	61.0	101.3	.8
Arteriosclerosis	13.4	8.2	8.2	8.4	1.6
Hypertension	2.9	2.6	2.0	7.5	1.1
Accidents	202.7	52.0	49.8	68.8	3.9
Motor vehicle	117.1	27.0	26.6	30.6	4.3
All other	85.6	25.0	23.1	38.1	3.4
Malignant neoplasms	81.6	130.7	128.3	152.2	.6
Cirrhosis of liver	66.0	14.9	13.5	25.4	4.4
Influenza and pneumonia	49.9	20.8	19.2	32.6	2.4
Diabetes mellitus	28.4	13.6	12.2	26.0	2.1
Tuberculosis, all forms	9.1	1.7	1.3	5.9	5.4
Bronchitis, emphysema, and asthma	6.9	11.0	11.3	8.0	.6

[1] 1972 rates (latest available).

Death rates among Indian youth is very high, particularly in the age range of five to twenty-four years. The death rates for Indians in this age bracket is twelve percent, while the general population of the United States is three percent. Another health disparity occurs when death rates for Indian infants under one year of age are examined. Infant mortality is ten percent for age one year and under, while the general population has a four percent death rate.[3]

Another way of examining the health rate of Indians is to note that 11.8 percent of Indians are fifty-five years of age or older, compared to nineteen percent of the general population of the United States. The life expectancy of Indians in 1976 was at the same level that the White population had reached in 1944.[4]

Deaths related to cirrhosis of the liver increased from 128 in 1966 to 235 in 1973. This is an increase in the death rate from 10.7 to 30.5/100,000 population. Data published by the American Indian Policy Review Commission indicate that deaths associated with alcohol have increased by 300 percent. Death linked to cirrhosis of the liver lies hehind the death rate for alcoholism during this period. It has been speculated that Indians consume alcohol in such a way that they die before the symptoms of alcohol abuse become apparent.[5]

An examination of the following tables indicates the extent to which alcohol has made a negative impact upon the health of the American Indian and Alaskan Native. Causes of death among Indians and Alaskan Natives is reported in Table 2. Death rates are noted in Table 3 and Table 4. They compare the Indian and Alaskan death rates to all races in the United States.

Since the early 1960s the Indian Health Service has gathered statistics on the impact of alcohol abuse because data from their studies revealed that it was having a traumatic effect on the culture. Below are some of the statistics that indicate the extent to which alcohol abuse has impacted the life of the American Indian:

1. The alcoholism death rate of Indians ranges from 4.3 to 5.5 times higher than the United States all-race rate.
2. Two-thirds of these alcohol-related deaths are the result of cirrhosis of the liver; thirty percent resulted from alcoholism itself; the remainder due to alcoholic psychoses.
3. The arrest rate for alcohol-related offences is twelve times that of non-Indians.
4. Alcoholics frequently die in jails as a result of delirium tremens, internal bleeding, head injuries, pneumonia, or suicide.
5. The Indian homicide rate is almost three times the national average.
6. The high accident rate is closely correlated to use of alcohol.
7. Broken families, divorce, juvenile delinquency, illegitimacy, and child neglect and abuse have become common in a population where they had rarely existed before.[6]

TABLE 2 Selected Causes of Death of Indians And Alaska Natives in Reservation States

	1973	*Crude death rates, 1955*	*Percent change*
All causes	772.5	927.2	−17
Accidents	174.3	155.6	+12
Diseases of heart	131.0	133.8	−2
Malignant neoplasms	62.0	59.1	+5
Cirrhosis of liver	45.5	14.2	+220
Cerebrovascular disease	42.8	46.4	−8
Influenza and pneumonia	41.1	89.8	−54
Certain causes of mortality in early infancy	19.6	67.6	−71
Diabetes mellitus	20.4	13.9	+47
Homocide	25.5	15.9	+60
Suicide	19.4	8.7	+123
Congenital anomalies	10.1	19.0	−47
Tuberculosis	6.0	55.1	−89
Arteriosclerosis	11.8	(1)	....
Nephritis and nephrosis	5.2	(1)	....

[1] Not available.

TABLE 3 Alcoholism Deaths and Death Rates of Indians and Alaska Natives in 25 Reservation States and U.S. All Races

	1966	*1967*	*1968*	*1969*	*1970*	*1971*	*1972*	*1973*
Number of deaths Indians and Alaska Natives in 25 reservation States:								
Alcoholism	55.0	51.0	91.0	81.0	97.0	107.0	101.0	159.0
Alcoholic psychoses	5.0	6.0	10.0	7.0	8.0	10.0	8.0	5.0
Cirrhosis of liver with mention of alcoholism	128.0	126.0	165.0	179.0	167.0	217.0	205.0	234.0
Total	188.0	188.0	266.0	267.0	277.0	334.0	315.0	399.0
Alcoholism death rates Indians and Alaska Natives in 25 reservation States:								
Alcoholism	8.9	8.0	13.8	11.9	13.8	14.8	13.6	20.7
Alcoholic psychoses	.8	.9	1.5	1.0	1.1	1.4	1.1	.7
Cirrhosis of liver with mention of alcoholism	20.7	19.7	25.0	26.3	23.8	30.1	27.4	30.5
Total	30.3	28.6	40.3	39.2	38.8	46.3	42.1	51.9
Alcoholism death rates—United States all races:								
Alcoholism	1.6	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.2
Alcoholic psychoses	.3	.3	.3	.3	.3	.3	.2	.2
Cirrhosis of liver with mention of alcoholism	4.8	4.8	5.0	5.2	5.5	5.8	6.0	6.0
Total	6.7	6.6	7.3	7.5	7.9	8.2	8.3	8.4

Urban Indian Health Care

American Indians have been moving to cities in increasing numbers, particularly since World War Two. By the 1970s approximately one-half of the American Indian population resided in cities. The Indians that live in the cities are denied services by the Indian Health Service. They base their denial of services on the fact that their budget is too small to even service all the Indians that are living on federally recognized Indian reservations. Therefore, they cannot provide services to the urban Indian.

The federal government, which denies the service to American Indians living in cities, was the agent that encouraged many Indian families to leave the reservation and move to urban centers in the first place. In 1952 the Bureau of Indian Affairs offered incentives in the form of vocational training, living allowances, and job placement. About one-third of the Indian population took advantage of the various relocation programs and moved to the cities. The relocation program of the federal government eventually phased out and these newly arrived Indian urban dwellers were cast off on their own. After they had moved to the city with encouragement and financial support from the federal government, American Indian families were abandoned and told to find health care the best way they could. It should be remembered that this occurred at a time that preceeded urban Indian centers. Indian centers eventually developed to provide some social service functions, but they could not meet the health needs of urban Indians.

In fact, the urban Indian has an extremely difficult time finding an agency that can meet his health needs and the urban Indian is a low-priority concern of the Indian Health Service. They often cannot receive health care unless they return to their reservation, which may be thousands of miles away.

Urban Indian health programs have helped deliver health care to urban Indians, but they have had to develop self-sustaining programs. They have to deal with local, regional, and state officials who are often unsympathetic to their concerns, or who merely do not understand the health concerns of the American Indian. Too often people assume that the health needs of the American Indian are met by the Bureau of Indian Affairs when, in fact, that has not been the case since at least 1955.

Certain cities have quite large Indian populations as a result of the migration to the cities. Seattle has 20,000; Minneapolis, over 25,000; San Francisco, 45,000; Los Angeles County, 80,000; Sacramento, 12,000; and San Jose, 7,000. Many of these Indians moved to these cities from the mid 1950s to the mid 1970s.

Urban Indian programs have attempted to design the delivery of health care to service the Indian population which is highly mobile and is not confined to one area of the city, but is scattered throughout the urban area.

Table 4 indicates the type of urban Indian health care needs to which we have referred.

TABLE 4 Alcoholism Death Rates Indians and Alaska Natives Compared to U.S. All Races

RATE PER 100,000 POPULATION

60 50 40 30 20 10 0

1966 1967 1968 1969 1970 1971 1972 1973

CALENDAR YEARS

TABLE 5 491 Aleut Deaths (1822–1836)[8]

% 30 10 0 0

20 40 60 80

Alaskan Native Health Concerns

Alaska is a land mass that is twice as large as Texas and equal to one-fifth of the size of the original forty-eight states. This size and the remoteness of the villages has allowed the aboriginal Eskimos and Athabascans to maintain portions of their traditional culture. They are able to hunt and fish in a manner similar to that of their ancestors. But the Alaskan native culture has been affected by contact with White culture, resulting in social disorganization similar to that experienced by American Indians.

Isolation is a key problem in the delivery of health services. A patient may be transferred one or two thousand miles to a hospital. Alaska is very close to the Asian continent. Alaskans on Little Diomede are only two and a half miles from Russia. Remote village life and the long distance to hospitals remains a problem for the Alaskan needing good health care.

Other problems in health care delivery, besides the isolation, are: un-available surface transportation, atmospheric interference with radio communication, absence of telephone communication, and the lack of health care professionals. There are also difficulties of poor housing and the lack of running water in many villages.

The Indian Health Service in Alaska has responsibility for approximately 60,000 Alaskan Natives. Some health problems have been attacked with vigor and there have been reductions in disease. Tuberculosis, for example, has been a major health problem for the Alaskan Native who was often sent out of the state for treatment. The Cushman Hospital in Tacoma, Washington was, until the mid 1950s, where Alaskan Natives were referred for tuberculosis treatment.

Alcohol abuse has been and remains a problem for the Alasken Native. The 1975 rate of suicide while under the influence of alcohol was 270 per 100,000 population. Out of seven-hundred sixty hospital admissions to the Nome health facility, two-hundred ninety-one identified an alcohol problem and eighty-six were admitted directly due to alcohol-related problems. Data reveal that between 1971 and 1975, out of one-hundred seventy-four deaths of Alaskan natives, eighty were natural deaths, seventy-four were alcohol-related, forty-five were due to heart and lung failure, twenty-eight were suicides, and eight were homicides.

The Russian Influence

Alaskan natives historically have been negatively impacted by other cultures. For example, between 1741 and 1867 the Aleuts suffered at the hands of the Russians who became their dominant influence. The Aleut culture was impacted and disrupted on almost every level, including the displacement of their religion, introduction of a new language, loss of indigenous health and medicinal knowledge, resettlement of village populations, introduction of new food, change in the structure of authority, change from communal life to individual living arrangements, and the adoption of Russian clothing.

The Russians killed large numbers of Aleuts during their reign. In 1840 Ivan Veniaminov recorded in *Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska District* that Davydov killed 3,000 and that Sarychev killed 5,000. Another tragedy was the 1837–38 smallpox epidemic which killed one-half of the Alaskan Native population. The Aleuts lacked immunity to the diseases and their populations were ravaged by the epidemic, resulting in the consolidation of many villages.

During the Russian Period the Aleuts were reduced to a maximum population of 20,000. They had a declining birth rate due to malnutrition, starvation, venereal disease, and lack of childcare education and health facilities. The culture was in continuing disarray because of the impact of the Russian culture, and an obvious coping mechanism for the survivors was the use and abuse of alcohol.

Contemporary Period

The reduced Aleut population of the Russian Period had to cope the best way it could as it entered the twentieth century. Conditions did not improve appreciable for the Aleut culture through World War II. Seventy-five percent of the population of Nikolski village suffered from tuberculosis. The birthrate was low and the infant mortality was high. For example, only two children were born in one village from 1948 to 1952.[9] One-half of all Aleut children died before they were six years of age. During the Korean War one-half of the Aleuts serving in the armed forces were discharged because they were physically unfit.[10]

The Aleut culture has been attempting to cope with external forces for over two hundred years.

Drinking Theories

Moss has identified several theories that have been put forth as causes of Indian drinking. He noted that there are at least eight theories that attempt to explain the Indian mode of drinking. The following is an outline of these theories:

1. *"Defiance to prohibition" theory:* American Indians and Alaskan Natives were prohibited from drinking alcohol until 1953. This prohibition resulted in the Indian developing unhealthy attitudes toward drinking that transferred to an overindulging pattern, once the drinking was made legal.
2. *"Lack of drinking norms" theory:* The Public Health Service stated as recently as 1969 that Indians have not been drinking long enough to develop the social norms which result in moderate alcohol drinking habits.
3. *"Cultural disruption" theory:* Dozier, Whitaker, Daily, and Reifel all point to the fact that the federal government seriously disrupted the Indian culture through the Contact Period. Dozier refferred to the cultural disruption as a "Cultural invasion." The resultant breakdown in cultural controls along with the disruption of the tribe, band, or clan, are causative factors in the rate of Indian alcoholism.
4. *"Government paternalism" theory:* This theory is closely linked to the cultural disruption theory in which the American Indian was subjugated by the military, forced to become dependent on the federal government, humili-

ated, and subject to the political climate of the day. All of these factors have contributed to the Indians' overuse of alcohol.

5. *"Drinking celebration" theory:* The idea behind this theory is that drinking alcohol surrounds festive occasions, similar to that of non-Indian culture.
6. *"Perpetuation of drinking practice" theory:* This theory contends that the Indian overindulges and does not adapt to a more moderate social style of drinking.
7. *"Curative" theory:* The belief among some Indians that alcohol has certain powers of healing health problems.
8. *"Permissiveness" theory:* This theory states that the cultural factor which allows an individual Indian to drink, results in behavior that leads to alcoholism.[11]

These theories present what anthropologists and others believe to be unhealthy attitudes regarding alcohol use by the American Indian. Ideas such as these provide a scholarly framework for understanding the alcohol abuse problem among the American Indian.

Prevention

Alcohol abuse has received increased attention since the late 1960s when Senator Hughes directed national attention to the problem. A report entitled *The Impact of Alcoholism* recorded the hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Alcoholism and Narcotics of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in United States Senate in 1969. This was a comprehensive report which covered the issue of alcohol abuse, but it did not deal with prevention. It did not focus on the issue of changing drinking attitudes of youths to prevent dependence on alcohol.

It appears that the importance which an individual attaches to alcohol is a major factor in dependence upon it. The more importance alcohol has to an individual, the more difficult it will be to break the cycle of dependence. For certain youth, the message that alcohol is important is transferred to them at an early age. They receive positive messages from the culture, filtered through the parents, that drinking is an acceptable method for dealing with stress. These messages are transmitted at an early age, and youths often become dependent upon this drug at an early age.

Of course, this problem also exists for the country at large. Children from all strata of society are confronted with alcohol and encouraged to use it. Messages are conveyed in the media that drinking is acceptable, a sign of success, and a recommended form of behavior. Youth receive the message from the significant people in their lives that drinking alcohol is acceptable, and they are encouraged to use it. However, this chapter concerns itself with the particular problem that exists for the American Indian youth.

Society has used alcohol for a variety of purposes. It has become a staple of business, and an all-purpose method of dealing with stress, including anxiety, loneliness, tension, and the other frustrations of life. The Indian youth learns from the important people in his or her life that alcohol is a proper method of coping with the problems of existing in a hostile society. That this society is hostile to the Indian is probably not questioned by anyone—what is open to question is the proper method of dealing with the stress of living in a modernized state. Furthermore, the American Indian considers society not only stressful, but a racist society which has the cards stacked against the Indian culture. A conclusion that Indians from that culture can draw is that alcohol is one way to cope with the stressful society and provide relief from a situation in which they cannot win.

It may not be possible to change society, but it is possible to change our attitude toward coping and adjusting to the stress of society. An old quotation may be appropriate here as the guiding concept in coping with the American culture:

> I have advised my people this way: When you find anything good in the white man's road, pick it up. When you find something that is bad, or turns out bad, drop it and leave it alone.
>
> *Sitting Bull*

A hypothesis can be put forward that drinking is a learned behavior among American Indians and Alaskan Native youth. Somehow they have not learned to operationalize their life as recommended by Sitting Bull. The youth do not drop the use of alcohol even though they can see the negative effects that it is having on their life. They often have an increased stressful situation in their lives because their parents have difficulty due to drinking; their peers encourage the use of alcohol, and they continue to have difficulty interacting with the dominant culture.

Prevention Goals

The first step in alcohol prevention is to develop goals for intervention among American Indian and Alaskan Native youth. Below are several guidelines that should be incorporated into developing goals for alcohol prevention.

1. Factors should be identified that assure healthy psychosocial growth and development in the American Indian individual and family;
2. Development of optimum social and environmental conditions which would minimize the development of alcoholism;
3. Alcohol education to foster healthy practices and attitudes toward drinking;
4. Control and/or regulation of the use of alcoholic beverages;
5. Consideration of the numbers and types of personnel needed.[12]

The following services can be utilized in the prevention of alcoholism:

Prevention
Information and Referral
Consultation
Resource Materials
Educational Activities
Coordination
Surveys and Reports
Teacher Training Programs
Social Agencies
Research

Conclusion

Alcoholism prevention strategies are being developed by American Indian and Alaskan Natives throughout the United States. They have become vitally concerned with the problem of alcohol abuse and are going beyond the concerns of alcohol rehabilitation. Many of the dedicated workers who are addressing themselves to the issue are recovered alcoholics. They realize the importance of alcoholism prevention because of the devastation alcohol has had on their own lives. These people have encouraged the development of programs that will utilize all the health resources to combat the problem.

These Indian and Alaskan Native professionals have often concluded that to make an impact on future generations, they would have to develop an alcoholism-prevention program that would intervene with youth prior to the time they incorporate the use of alcohol into their lifestyle.

In the City of Seattle, important leadership in alcoholism prevention has been provided by Harold Belmont. Mr. Belmont has developed part of his work through the Seattle Indian Alcoholism Program. They have worked in both the areas of rehabilitation and prevention. The Seattle Indian alcohol program has pioneered work that has had an impact upon the community. An important function of the program is to provide communication among the other agencies in the community that have responsibility for youth activities.

Prevention, broadly defined, involves and concerns a wide variety of agencies. When these agencies coordinate their work, they extend the resources that are allocated to each program. Therefore, they are more likely to intervene at a variety of levels in the life of the American Indian and the Alaskan Native youth.

Summary

Native cultures throughout North America have had a history of intrusion by other cultures upon their aboriginal territory. The intrusion process has caused disruption of the culture and resulted in a tense, stressful, threatening environment for the native population. These people have attempted to cope with the problem by turning to a variety of escape mechanisms, including alcohol abuse. American Indians and Alaskan Natives, alcohol educators, and rehabilitation workers are developing programs that will intervene in the drinking cycle of the youth.

Questions for Discussion

1. What would you theorize is the cause of the alcohol abuse problems among American Indians and Alaskan Natives?
2. Imagine that you are a professional health worker. How would you attempt to solve the alcohol abuse problem among the American Indian and Alaskan Native?
3. Identify the health agencies in your community and indicate how they can play a role in alcoholism prevention?
4. Write an essay in which you state how a tribal council or urban community can indicate to Indian and Alaskan Native youth that there are alternatives to using alcohol in coping with stress.
5. What American Indian values would mitigate against relying on drugs to cope with contemporary society?
6. Develop a curriculum project that would indicate essential criteria for alcoholism prevention. Be sure to mention:
    a. Parent/child communication skills.
    b. Development and reinforcement of a positive self concept.
    c. Communication between the Indian community and Indian and Alaskan Native youth regarding alcoholism prevention.
    d. The development of intervention strategies to offset institutional racism that can result in alcohol abuse by Indian youth.
7. Indicate what information teachers should have in their education that would equip them to advise youth in the area of American Indian alcohol prevention.
8. What teaching strategies can teachers employ to teach youth to resist "follow the leader" into self-destructive activities.
9. What problems are likely to emerge when developing alcoholism prevention programs? Develop strategies that would address these problems, and arrive at a solution.

10. Be able to define these key words in one sentence to one paragraph:

    alcoholism
    cirrhosis
    prevention
    death rate
    intrusion
    rehabilitation
    Indian Health Service
    Bureau of Indian Affairs
    institutional racism
    mental health

NOTES

1. Jesse W. Johnson, "Manpower Development and Training—Strategies for Our Future" (Paper delivered at Second Annual National Conference on Minority Group Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Issues: Albuquerque, NM. 15 October 1979), p. 25.
2. R. F. Bales, "Cultural Differences in Rates of Alcoholism," *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol,* 6 (1946).
3. U.S. Task Force Six, "Report on Indian Health," Final report to the American Indian Policy Review Commission (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 56.
4. U.S. Task Force Six "Report on Indian Health," pp. 42–43.
5. *Ibid.* p. 45.
6. *Ibid.* p. 69.
7. Leda Chase Milan, "Ethnohistory of Disease and Medical Use Among the Aleut," *Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska,* 16 (August, 1974).
8. Don Bantz and Associates, *Tribal Specific Health Plan* (Anchorage: Aleutin-Pribilof Islands Association Health Department, Bantz and Associates, n.d.)
9. Bantz, *Tribal Specific Plan,* p. 6.
10. Bantz, *Tribal Specific Plan,* p. 6.
11. Fenton E. Moss, "Cultural Theories on the Causation of Indian Alcoholism" (MS., University of Utah, Western Regional Indian Alcoholism Training Center, 1970).
12. Western Regional Indian Alcoholism Training Center, Community Alcohol Education Program, "Alcoholism Program Development" (Course Number SWTC183, 7 January 1975, University of Utah).

THE CONTEXT OF COLONIALISM IN WRITING AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORY

ROXANNE DUNBAR ORTIZ

Introduction

American Indians have experienced modern colonialism, that is, the expansion of capitalist systems into foreign areas and capitalist expropriation of lands, resources and labor. American Indians have resisted colonialism using both defensive and offensive techniques, including armed resistance. The United States as a socioeconomic and political entity is a result of that process. American Indian communities today are societies formed by their resistance to colonialism.

Methodology is not the problem in the writing of American Indian history, neither that of the history field nor in the discipline of anthropology, nor that hybrid, "ethnohistory." However, scholars in these fields have not gone far in resolving the terrible distortions of American Indian history, and they have not even approached the distortions in United States history.

In this era of worldwide decolonization, of which American Indians are an active part, there is a counterforce by former colonial powers and their intellectual communities. This counterforce is termed *neocolonialism*. Recent writings in American Indian history reflect neocolonialist strategy, that is, an attempt to make accomodations to new realities in order to retain the status quo. On the other hand, neocolonialist methods signal victory for American Indians who are attempting to correct wrongs because such approaches open up the lid which has been kept on tight for so long. For instance, at least a few American Indian scholars must be accepted into the inner circles of American academia.

The previous numbered page in
the original document was blank.

The main problem for scholars in the writing of American Indian history is not lack of information; nor is the problem one of methodology; certainly the problem does not lie in difficulties with documentation any more than any other area of research. Rather, the problems may be identified as the refusal or inability of American scholars to comprehend the nature of their own history, United States history.

Problems with Current Scholarship

Six major problems may be identified as associated with the writing of American Indian history:

1) First, the colonial context should be the framework within which American Indian history and United States history are studied. Isolating "culture" from such a context avoids reality. United States' policy toward American Indians is not termed "imperialism" or "colonialism" in writings on American Indian history. Yet the classic description of imperialism fits well the process experienced by Indian people at the hands of the United States: The graduation from economic penetration to spheres of influence to protectorates or indirect control, and from protectorates, via military occupation to annexation.[1] With obvious indications of the processes of United States colonialism and imperialism in North America, why are the many interpretations of Indian-United States relations obscure? In 1901, Frederick Jackson Turner wrote: "Our colonial system did not begin with the Spanish war. The United States had had a colonial history and policy from the beginning of the Republic; but they have been hidden under the phraseology of 'interstate migration' and 'territorial organization.' "[2]

The many debates which followed Turner's frontier thesis did not produce an analysis of United States colonialism, nor has the extensive historiography of the Monroe Doctrine stimulated such analysis. Certainly, there is not a lack of documentary research in the area of Indian-United States relations. Francis Paul Prucha lists 9705 sources in *A Bibliographical Guide to the History of Indian-White Relations in the United States.*[3]

2) Secondly, American Indian responses to invasion and domination should be viewed as resistance, which includes mechanisms of accomodation to survive. American scholars tend to look at change in American Indian communities as assimilation, dualism or conservatism, sometimes termed "traditionalism."

3) Concerning the question of violence, usually termed "conflict": Everyone agrees there are bad and good people, and bad and good in each person, but the observation does not tell us much, except surely

that social institutions can allow the bad in people to emerge or the good in people to predominate. That is, a society sets standards for behavior and isolates that which it considers "bad." Colonialism, as an institution or system, requires violence or the threat of violence to attain its goals. People do not hand over their land, resources, labor, children and future without a fight which is often violent in form. Violence is institutionalized by a colonizing power, and force is necessary to accomplish expansionist goals. The notion that violence is a product of cultural differences and misunderstandings, and was committed equally by Indians and Whites blurs the nature of the historical processes.

4) The question of objectivity in the writing of American Indian history: Bernard Sheehan, in his 1969 essay, "Indian-White Relations in Early America,"[4] warned against moralizing, calling for a dispassionate and culturally relative analysis of disparate cultures, maintaining that an understanding of cultural conflict "diffuses the locus of guilt." Indeed it does. In the search for scholarly objectivity is masked justifications and rationalizations, in short, apologies for mass robbery and murder. In seeking the nature of "cultural change" and "conflict of cultures," fundamental questions about the nature of the formation of the United States may be avoided. Furthermore, present responsibility toward that past may be rejected. The "balance sheet" approach to the writing of history is at least anti-intellectual, and distorts reality beyond recognition.

5) There are recent attempts to emphasize the multicultural nature of American society. It has become very popular in our era for scholars to emphasize the "contributions" that different ethnic groups in the United States have made to the commonweal. For Indians, contributions include corn, beans, place names and even the concept of democracy. Here, the notion of the intermingling of cultures clouds what really happened and tells us nothing. The *existence* of the United States is a result of the massive robbery of an entire continent and its resources from its owners. Corn, buckskin, log cabins, parkas, maple syrup, birchbark canoes and Indian medicines, among thousands of other items, do indeed make up the material for survival of the European settlers and the "pioneers" of North America. And these items are Indian creations.

But what about the geopolitical results of Indian resistance? Were the goals of the Monroe doctrine curbed by Indian resistance? After all, the United States did not succeed in penetrating further than the middle of Mexico in efforts to gain direct control of the entire western hemisphere to create, in Jefferson's words,

> . . . a distant time, when our rapid multiplication will expand itself beyond those limits and cover the whole northern if not the southern continent with a people speaking the same language governed in similar form by similar laws.[5]

Indian resistance in the West and Southwest kept the United States militarily and intensely occupied for at least a generation the second half of the 19th century, perhaps curbing United States imperialist goals overseas as well as being an important force in the future formation of the United States geopolitical and economic reality.

Why do we not discuss the serious effects of Indian action and United States responses, rather than trivializing the Indian impact on the United States by discussing their "contributions" to a society, the formation of which they might rather not be associated? Implied in the contribution approach is the notion that the United States is indeed a great society, and all the little brown and black peoples helped make it great. It is inappropriate for a scholar to work from such a subjective base. Anyway, the material items and ideas always mentioned as Indian "contributions" were *appropriated* by the Euroamericans, not contributed by the Indians. Indians created their material and ideological wealth for their own future generations, not to make America great.

6) The question of genocide and its effects on the American psychosocial reality: Like violence, genocide is part and parcel to colonialism. This perfectly legitimate political, legal and historical term, "genocide," is rejected out of hand in the American scholarly world in relation to American Indian history. If it is discussed, it is dismissed with the rationale that most Indians died of disease and were not killed outright, assuming that genocide includes only murder. Actually the United Nations Convention on Genocide of 1948, the only definition in international law, which, however, the United States is the only active member of the UN not to have ratified, provides a number of tests for genocide. Any one of five tests may be applied:

A. Killing members of the group.
B. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to the group.
C. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.
D. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group.
E. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The term, "ethnocide" has become popular among European scholars as a euphemism for genocide. Why not *genocide?* Surely the American psychosocial reality, and particularly American Indian apprehensions, cannot be understood without dealing with the genocide that has been committed against American Indians by the United States.

Colonialism is by its nature genocidal, but additionally, the *policy* of genocide on the part of the United States government has existed in at least four distinct periods: the Jacksonian era of forced removal; during the California gold rush in northern California; in the post-Civil War nineteenth century in the Plains; and in the 1950s termination period. Orders such as that of Major General William T. Sherman in 1866 are not exceptional:

> . . .at least ten Indians are (to be) killed for each white life lost. . . You should not allow the troops to settle down on the defensive but carry the war to the Indian camps, where the women and children are. . . the truth should be ascertained and reported, but should not delay the punishment of the Indians as a people. It is not necessary to find the very men who committed the acts, but destroy all of the same breed.[6]

Some observers point out that another era of genocide against American Indians is here, with the use of neocolonial methods of direct corporate intrusion into Indian lands, that is, the destruction of Indian lands and resources, which will make reservations unlivable. Surely, simply the inaction of the United States to provide constantly expanding land bases and financial assistance in bettering reservation conditions are a form of genocide, since inaction leads to destruction.

The Context for Making Changes in the Writing of Indian History

The conquest of North America must be framed within the historical processes of capitalist expansion through colonialism and imperialism. These have involved not only the conquest of foreign lands and peoples, but specifically the conquest and domination of agricultural and subsistence producers with accompanying expropriation of their lands, resources and labor. The process of the extension of a capitalist state and of individual capitalists into foreign territories in the past four centuries has involved taking the land from the indigenous peoples, the land being their chief means of production, whether they were herdsmen or farmers. Control of the indigenous peoples as well as of the resources and land are important for the maintenance of colonialism which leads to rigid governing systems with racism as a principle ideological tool for maintenance of the system. The term, "cultural change," within such a context, is absurd.

Racism is not merely an aberration of a few ignorant or self-serving individuals in this process. Racism is endemic to colonialism, just as are violence and genocide. Racism is often the very justification for annihilation of communities. However, the intensity of racism in United States' history and present reality has tended to cloud the nature of the process as one of cultural conflict or racial antipathy, rather than understanding the fundamental economic processes within the development of capitalist accumulation, and, in particular, in the development of the political economy of the United States. Perhaps it would be more useful to view Indian resistance as a form of class struggle. At any rate, for colonialism and resistance to it to be understood, the focus must be on the relationship of the indigenous people to capital, not just on the cultural relationships of Euroamericans and Indians.

The process continues with new forms of Indian resistance and the sharpening of neocolonialist methods of maintaining the status quo. All too often, Indian defeat is declared by American scholars, though increasingly, defeat is viewed as tragic rather than a triumph for "civilization." However, in reality, a struggle is still being waged by Indian people in the United States. The most powerful corporations in the world, often in collusion with elements in the federal and state governments, and even within some Tribal governments, are seeking the final demise of the Indian land base and resources. Resistance to these forces continue to have profound effect on the future of the national socioeconomic and political development of the United States. Indian resistance has long provided a counterforce to unlimited monopoly capital development in the United States.

Conclusion

The provincialism of American scholarship has been alluded to throughout this paper. American Indian scholars and even a few of the non-Indian scholars who attempt to revise the distortions of American Indian history are often labeled advocates and their findings are rejected on that basis. Many minority scholars in the United States have looked to scholarship which has emerged in the Third World in the past decades. The historical materialism of Marxism, the liberation theology from Latin America, Fanon's psychosocial analyses of the effects of colonialism on the colonizer and the colonized, development theories and other approaches have been employed and applied creatively to the historical and present experiences of minorities in the United States. These are usually rejected by the academic establishment unless they are couched in euphemisms which do not offend the editors of scholarly journals and the university presses. Yet the chauvinism of American scholars permeates the writing of American Indian history. These scholars are interested in "their" colonial frontiers, the genesis of "their" country. Their personal identification with the subject matter reflects subjectivity and ethnocentrism, which though not so blatently jingoistic as in past times, does get in their way, ending in either apologism under the guise of balance, or, alternatively, moral outrage in discovering the sins of their ancestors, which tends to lead them to romanticization of Indian history. Neither are very useful forces for revising American Indian history.

Neocolonialist jargon in the writing of American Indian history has come to be acceptable and fashionable with its emphasis on contributions and cultural relativism. If what we end up with are platitudes, such as, "there were good and bad people on both sides," or "American culture is an amalgamation of all its ethnic groups," or "a frontier is an area of interaction of cultures, not merely advancing European settlements," then what have we accomplished? That such tautologies should be posed as revising American scholarship in the writing of American Indian history only reveals how extremely backward and controlled American Indian studies remain in American academia.

NOTES

1. Maurice Dobb, *Political Economy and Capitalism* (London: Routledge, 1937), pp. 239–40.
2. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920), p. 127.
3. 1977, University of Chicago.
4. *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3 (26), (1969): 267–86.
5. A. A. Lipscomb, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* 296.
6. Sherman to Cooke, December 28, 1866, Department of the Platte.

METHODOLOGY IN CHEROKEE TRIBAL HISTORY

TOM HOLM

Recently the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* published James A. Clifton's excellent essay entitled "The Tribal History—An Obsolete Paradigm." In it, Clifton not only reviewed Edmund J. Danziger's *The Chippewas of Lake Superior* but suggested what many American Indians have been suggesting for years—namely that the standard or "normal" tribal history has always been woefully lacking in cultural understanding, larded with racial and cultural biases and oftentimes outlandishly ignorant of tribal world views and philosophies. Moreover, as Clifton pointed out, it has with great regularity failed to analyze or interpret correctly the well-documented "white" side of the tribal story. Clearly the tribal history, which has accounted for a great percentage of the vast amount of literature written about American Indians, is obsolete and its obsolescence has been built-in from the beginning.[1]

The standard tribal history usually begins with a quick overview of an individual tribe's culture and lifestyles purportedly "on the eve of contact" with whites. The description of the society under study, as Clifton reveals, is often anachronistic and the society depicted as being stagnant. From that point the history is devoted to telling the story of the ways in which the so-called static tribal culture is undermined and finally pulled down by hordes of invading whites. Ultimately, the tribal people themselves are seen as not only poverty stricken but as peculiar cultural nondescripts caught in the degrading position of being trapped between two "impure" cultures. This view of Indians not only misses the fact that the tribal people of North America were adaptive but leaves the impression that Native Americans lack the intellectual creativity needed to survive despite adversity. In this aspect tribal histories have changed little since the beginning of this century when the general white consensus was that Indians were vanishing both culturally and physically from the face of the earth.

The previous numbered page in
the original document was blank.

In recent years, normal tribal histories have added more upbeat endings, found in terse epilogues. These final statements imply that the tribe under study is currently raising itself up from poverty and degradation through the acquired knowledge of the white economic system and cultural "rebirth." Still, even with the newer and more optimistic endings, the theme of culture genocide remains strong throughout the literature.

Another particularly vexing problem with the tribal chronology is its lack of cultural analysis. Many authors apologize at the outset of their studies for this deficiency by stating that the book is not an anthropological treatise or that it is a study written from an "outside" point of view. The "outsider" study, although wanting in Indian input, suggests an objectivity that really does not exist. Real objectivity comes only from extensive research into both sides of the story and a degree of interpretive analysis that evades many of the tribal chroniclers.

One case in point is the way in which most books pertaining to Indian tribes depict the first encounters between the subject tribe and Europeans. Rarely do these chronologies explain fully the cultural and intellectual dimensions of first contacts. Typically, standard tribal histories explain hostility as being motivated by competition for land. On the other hand, if the first encounter between a tribe and Europeans—whether English, French, Dutch or Spanish—was marked by a great deal of empathy, then it is usually taken as a sign of either Indian awe of European technological superiority or tribal friendliness for economic or political gain.

These standard interpretations, although to a degree factual, require further analysis, primarily because they simply do not clarify the nature of Indian/white relations within either an American or a European cultural context. To write off Indian/white encounters as clashes of cultures without explaining the societies themselves seems absurd. Often the beliefs, customs and behavior of both peoples are taken for granted, and when this occurs, historical accuracy is hardly served.

Initial contacts between whites and Indians therefore must be looked upon from social and intellectual standpoints. It was highly unlikely, for example, that Indians stood in awe of Europeans. As Nancy Lurie has written, Indians were not that overwhelmed by the Old World cultural baggage. According to Lurie:

> There was actually little in the Europeans' imported bag of tricks which the Indians could not syncretize with their own experience. Metal was not unknown to them. . . . Metal weapons and domestic utensils were simply new and effective forms of familiar objects to accomplish familiar tasks. Even guns were readily mastered after the noise. . . . Many utilitarian objects such as nets, weirs, and gardening implements were very similar in both

> Indian and European cultures. European ships were simply larger and different. . . .[3]

Moreover, during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries European personal habits and dress would hardly have impressed native North Americans. In that period, most males from Europe affected beards, wore heavy woollen clothing and bathed infrequently. To get to America they had to suffer the rigors of a long ocean voyage on the not especially calm Atlantic. If they did not become seasick to the point of complete emaciation then they might very well have become afflicted with scurvy—an extremely debilitating disease caused by a lack of vitamin C. It is very likely that the English who first stepped ashore at Jamestown were stoop shouldered, had bleeding gums, and reeked with a stench that only close quarters in a small ship, woollen clothing and little, if any, bathing could produce. To Indian eyes, and noses, the white men were decidedly not awe inspiring.

Indian reactions to the Europeans, if taken within this context, could come from either repugnance or pity. From a tribal point of view, the incoming whites could very well have been looked upon as being extremely threatening. If generosity was a supreme tribal virtue, however, then aiding these miserable creatures would have served to bolster the tribal sense of purpose. When seen in this light, Squanto seems less a groveling servant to the Separatists at Plymouth than a tribal missionary attempting to gain status within his own society. The early clashes between whites and Indians boil down to intellectual conflicts, with both sides striving to maintain a sense of mission.

The purpose of this paper, however, is not to dwell on the glaring flaws of the standard tribal history. Since Clifton has quite adequately pointed out the defects of the genre and proposed that scholars become more analytical and culturally aware in their approach to tribal history, it would perhaps be more useful at this point to discuss a particular tribal history and suggest a methodology that might overcome some of these weaknesses.

Of all the tribes in America the Cherokee Nation is easily among the most written about. Beginning at least in 1846, with a book entitled *A Faithful History of the Cherokee Tribe of Indians, From the Period of Our First Intercourse With Them, Down to the Present Time,* whites have attempted to unravel Cherokee history. Sadly, there is a certain degree of sameness and lack of analysis woven throughout these monographs. Even more unfortunate is the fact that most Cherokee histories are written with an incredible amount of cultural prejudice. Grace Steele Woodward, for example, begins her book *The Cherokees* by stating that it is a significant event when a people move from "dark savagery into the light of civilization." From that point, her study declines into a morass of value judgments, misrepresentations, half-truths and out and out bigotry. At the same time she appears extremely sympathetic to the tribe for having to travel the torturous route from "savagery" to "civilization." Today Woodward's kind of history seems laughable, archaic and the product of hack writing, yet *The Cherokees* was published only seventeen years ago by one of the nation's leading printers of books about American Indians, the University of Oklahoma Press.

In general, Cherokee tribal histories, including Woodward's effort, weave a tale of a people undergoing change. Nearly every one of these works insist that the Cherokees, under pressure from the invading whites, consciously adopted white religious practice, dress, manners, economic and social thought and political behavior. In short, they abandoned their "traditional culture" for "civilization." Despite these efforts to conform and appease the whites, according to the historians of the Cherokees, the tribe was betrayed. Each act of white betrayal—removal, allotment, Oklahoma statehood—only served to drive Cherokee society further into oblivion. Finally, Cherokee people are depicted as being either fully assimilated individuals in a modern society or poverty-ridden outcasts without distinctive culture or bright future.

The idea that Cherokee society was static is ridiculous. The notion that any culture was without change or was inadaptable presumes that the society was devoid of ideological foundations. This view conjures up an image of Cherokees as automatons performing ceremonies and carrying out tribal customs as if by instinct alone. Because historians are given to pointing out that Cherokee culture change was largely the product of so-called mixed-blood reasoning, they necessarily imply that the full-blood or traditional element of the tribe was deficient in thought. As soon as the chroniclers of Cherokee history inject their stereotype of the greedy yet dynamic white man into the story, Cherokee society was doomed.

Nothing, however, could be further from the truth. Cherokee society was not stagnant nor was it devoid of ideological foundation. Cherokee world views were and are based on the concept of universal order. The tribe was part of a divine system under which certain obligations had to be carried out in order to insure tribal continuity. So long as certain ceremonial duties and customs were adhered to, the collective society was assured continued life. No Cherokee held, until the introduction of Christianity, the idea of being expelled from a Garden of Eden by a vengeful god. As long as the tribe persisted, more or less, in a traditional manner, then the "good life" or the natural equilibrium between mankind and the universe continued. Preserving this equilibrium was what Redbird Smith, a Cherokee traditionalist, referred to in the early part of this century as the "particular Cherokee mission on Earth."[3]

Although this philosophy appears rigid, it actually allowed for a great deal of cultural latitude. If continuity and order were the precepts on which the society was built, then the development of a number of survival techniques were crucial. Consequently the Cherokees, like many other tribes, adapted to the European intrusion rather than were decimated by it. The coming of the whites and the carrying out of certain policies such as removal and allotment surely caused a disruption in the Cherokee idea of universal order but the disturbance was only temporary.

The Cherokees were particularly hard pressed to accept change. At least since the 1790s, United States government officials urged tribal leaders to promote "civilization" among the tribes' seven clans. In the early part of the nineteenth century many Cherokees yielded to the pressure and learned English, accepted Christianity, wore "white" clothing and began to move away from the village and its ceremonial grounds. When the government instituted the policy of removing eastern tribes west of the Mississippi, some Cherokees began to reassess the value of ignoring some of their traditions. To many, removal was a predictable end to the erosion of the Cherokee value system.

But Cherokee customs, religious ceremonies and values actually survived reasonably intact. For example, the invention of the Sequoyah syllabary, long looked upon as a mechanism of change, in reality aided the cause of cultural survival. Cherokee medicine men could and did record ritual, medicinal plants and formulas, thus assuring their preservation.[4]

There were many other adaptations. After removal, traditionalist or "full-blood" communities were never really able to recapture fully the village and ceremonial life of the 1700s. By the 1880s traditionalist communities were more on the order of small "neighborhoods" made up of extended family groups. There were few, if any, actual Cherokee towns of the type found in the east one hundred years before. Because the lands in the Cherokee Nation were held in common, families could stake out as much ground as they could use. Ownership of real property was never placed on an individual basis. This system constituted another important Cherokee ideological survival. Since traditionalist families, for the most part, still practiced subsistence agriculture, they usually picked and held only small plots of land. The members of the extended families would take up adjacent lands and build their log cabins within sight of each other. The people within these communities practiced, on a smaller scale, almost the same social and economic relations as they had prior to removal.

In order to preserve the Cherokee religion these communities had to adapt even further. Ceremonial grounds were located in chosen areas not necessarily within the small neighborhoods. The establishment of what came to be called the "stomp grounds" or "tribal towns" in fact was primarily a function of population concentration. In the Cherokee town of the eighteenth century the ceremonial grounds were part of the community itself. No Cherokee village was without its area set aside for ceremonial purposes. After removal, the Cherokee population was evidently more dispersed, the local concentration not large enough to support its own ceremonial areas. Ceremonial grounds were located on land used by one of the principle ceremonial leaders and in an area that could accomodate those people living in several small communities within a larger geographic region.[5]

During the latter part of the nineteenth century even these adaptations were threatened. In 1893 Congress created the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes. Headed by Henry L. Dawes, the author of the General Allotment Act of 1887, the commission was established primarily to convince the tribes of the Indian Territory to accept the surveying and allotment of their lands. Allotment would mean the absolute end of the tribal institution of holding lands in common, the dissolution of the tribal government and the abrogation of previous treaties. It would also mean the possible loss of the small traditionalist communities and the land set aside for ceremonial purposes, simply because it would force Cherokees into accepting the notion of private property.[6]

The reaction against allotment was immediate and substantial. To the element of the tribe that used the common lands for profit, allotment meant economic loss. The traditionalists, however, perceived allotment as a much greater threat. To them it signified another attempt to destroy the tribal concept of universal equilibrium. It was during this period that Redbird Smith, a traditional leader, began a religious revival and succeeded not only in shoring up the beliefs of traditionalists but in winning back other Cherokees who had drifted away from tribal precepts. In the late 1890s and early 1900s Smith and the Keetoowah Society reestablished ceremonial grounds and founded several more. Traditionalist sentiment was felt during the negotiations with the Dawes Commission. The Cherokees, who were bargaining with the committee, were forced to propose a plan that would keep traditionalist communal systems and tribal towns intact. The plan made it possible for those who desired it to take adjacent allotments and hold them in trust under a communal title. Unfortunately for the traditionalists, the plan "for preserving in effect the continuity of the Tribal Relations of the full-blood Indian" was not accepted.[7]

The Keetoowahs under the leadership of Smith lost the battle against allotment. They resisted and many refused to take the individually assigned plots of land. Often persecuted, the Keetoowahs retreated to the hills of northeastern Oklahoma. When the persecution abated they reappeared again. They survived because of a strong sense of mission and an equally strong ability to adapt. Even today, some Cherokees who have left Oklahoma are secure in the knowledge that other Cherokees, perhaps friends or relatives, are keeping tradition alive and thus assuring the continuity of the tribal ideal of universal order.

Implicit in this brief glimpse of Cherokee history is an admonition to the historian who is about to undertake a tribal history to become fully knowledgeable of the tribe's culture. This cultural awareness should not only include the ability to describe its outward features but an in-depth knowledge of its ideological foundations. Only in this manner will the historian gain an insight into culture change, which is often merely adaptation.

The importance of understanding tribal philosophies cannot be overemphasized. Oftentimes a full knowledge of tribal world views can explain the background of a group's political system, social structure, economy and ceremonial life. It can sometimes account for tribal resistance to accepting European-American culture or, in some cases, a tribe's adaptation to the white intrusion. In addition, it cannot be assumed that if change or adaptation has occurred within a given tribe, the culture's intellectual underpinnings are dead. Some Indian people, such as Charles A. Eastman, never lost a sense of tribal or racial mission despite the fact that they had undergone seemingly complete assimilation.

In the final analysis, the standard tribal history is, as Clifton suggested, obsolete. Historians have adhered to a formula that, in the light of all the information now available, is totally inadequate. The historian no longer can rely primarily on manuscript collections to gain a full knowledge of a particular tribe's history. Tribal histories can be salvaged but only if the scholar is able to explore anthropological data, to be critical of every piece of documentation, to have the fortitude to interpret ambiguous information and, most important, to think from both a white and Indian viewpoint.

NOTES

1. James A. Clifton, "The Tribal History—An Obsolete Paradigm," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 3 (1979); 81–100.

2. Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "Indian Cultural Adjustment to European Civilization," In Roger L. Nichols and George R. Adams, eds., *The American Indian: Past and Present* (Waltham, Mass.: Xerox, 1971), p. 46.
3. See Robert K. Thomas, "The Redbird Smith Movement," in William N. Fenton and John Gulick, eds., *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 180 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1961), p. 163: Emmett Starr, History of the Cherokee Indians and Their Legends and Fold Lore (Oklahoma City: The Warden Company, 1921), pp. 481–82.
4. Raymond D. Fogelson, "Change, Persistence, and Accomodation in Cherokee Medico-Magical Beliefs," in Fenton and Gulick, *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture*, p. 216.
5. Although Robert K. Thomas has carried out a good deal of research on the traditionalist Cherokees of Oklahoma, very little has been published about these communities during the 1880s and 1890s. I have largely built this view of them from family traditions and interviews with aged Cherokee people.
6. See the statement of John Redbird Smith, Indian-Pioneer Papers, vol. 85, pp. 173–181, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma.
7. Ibid., p. 181; Thomas, "The Redbird Smith Movement," pp. 164–65; Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation*(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), p. 328; Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 34.

NATIVE AMERICAN LITERATURES

KENNETH LINCOLN

Native Americans: the stress falls on a hemispheric complex of original peoples, histories, languages, cultures, ecologies, radically diverse and no less than forty thousand years "native" to America. Perhaps Native Americans trace even farther back, "older than men can ever be—old like hills, like stars," Black Elk, the Lakota holy man, dreams his tribal ancestors; the peoples' own origin myths speak of emerging out of this land.[1] And the literatures of these many cultures are deeply rooted in America. "I do not know how many there are of these songs of mine," the Netsilik Eskimo, Orpingalik, told Kund Rasmussen. "Only I know that they are many, and that all in me is song. I sing as I draw breath."[2]

From at least five hundred original cultures in North America, perhaps four to eight million peoples speaking five hundred distinct languages, by Vine Deloria's count three hundred and fifteen "tribes" remain in the United States alone.[3] They compose roughly seven hundred thousand full-bloods or "bloods," as the reservation idiom goes, mixed-bloods (parents from different tribes), and "breeds" (one non-Indian parent). There are probably another half million blooded Indian people who live as Whites.[4] The working definition of "Indian," though criteria vary from region to region, is minimally a quarter blood and tribal membership.

Each tribe, whether an Alaskan Tlingit fishing village of forty extended kin or the Navajo "nation" of one hundred and forty thousand in Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico, can be traditionally defined through a native language, an inherited place and set of traditions—a daily speech, a teaching folklore, ceremony and religion, a heritage passed on generation to generation in songs, legends, jokes, morality plays, healing rituals, event-histories, social protocol, spiritual rites of passage, and vision journies to the sacred world. These cultural traditions evolved before the Old World "discovered" the New World, and many have adapted to changing circumstances and remain strong today. The literature here "suprises by its contemplative perception of the visual world, its delicacy, its magic, and its terseness," as Jorge Luis Borges has taught "American Literature" from George Cronyn's early anthology, *The Path on the Rainbow* (1918).[5]

This book begins with fragments of translated texts that have been recorded over the past century, for the most part—selected details that suggest the larger history and terrain of hundreds of tribal peoples. The method is collective and impressionistic, not documentary, responding in kind to the tones and states of mind implicit in Native American literatures. The primary concern is to convey to the general reader the essential alertness, energy, and beauty of the cultures as reflected in their literatures.

Given their diversities, Native American peoples commonly acknowledge a long inherited time in the land. They traditionally idealize ancestral bonds, spiritual observances, oral cultural traditions, tribal life-styles of shared goods and responsibilities, and an ecological interdependence (the principle of "sacred reciprocation," in the words of the anthropologist Barre Toelken[6]). Personal concerns are communal matters. Black Elk opens his life-story, a remembered history that is carried on as tribal literature of the Oglala Sioux: "It is a story of all life that is holy and is good to tell, and of us two-leggeds sharing in it with the four-leggeds and the wings of the air and all green things; for these are children of one mother and their father is one Spirit."[7] Literatures, in this sense, are not separated from the daily contexts of people's lives; the spoken, sung, and danced language binds the people as the living text of tribal life.

Ideally then, Native American Studies is a holistic art—imagining indigenous tribes contiguous with their environments, grounded in their traditions, enacting their histories. Its methods should be interdisciplinary and exploratory, and its research questions assumptions in order to learn, rather than assert.[8] Claude Levi-Strauss in *Tristes Tropique* recalls that as a beginning student he declined philosophy and law as self-referential, skirted geology as too widely defined in a non-human terms, and by-passed psychology as too individually oriented; he thought as an anthropologist, open to improvisation, to fuse geological time, psychological humanism, and the epistemological concerns of philosophy with the disciplines of legal reasoning.[9] Levi-Strauss's structural anthropology offers one international approach in native cultural studies, balanced by the more immediate field work of scholars in direct contact with tribal peoples. Between the extremes of scientific form and humanist contact lies the terrain of Native American literatures.

The many native peoples with ancient tenure in America remain as varied as the land itself—forest, prairie, river, valley, seacoast, mountain, tundra, desert, cliff dwelling peoples who were traditionally farmers, fishermen, food gatherers, and hunters inseparable from the land. Their cultures and histories differ as widely as terrain and climate, flora and fauna; but all tribes live ties distinct from other Americans—indigenous time on this "turtle island," as origin myths relate, unified in an ancient ancestral heritage. The Hopi village of Old Oraibi, on the third mesa in northern Arizona, has stood for at least eight hundred and fifty years. Canyon de Chelly, on the Navajo reservation near the Four Corners area, has been occupied for two and one half thousand years. In contrast, the landscape east of the Mississippi carries slim living evidence of once powerful tribes who settled the forests—among many others, the Powhatans who saved Jamestown colony with gifts of green corn in the first severe winter of 1607 (the colonists, unprepared for the climate, were starved to eating their own dead), the Five Civilized Tribes in the Southeast, the Ohio River and Great Lakes tribes, and the Iroquois Confederacy, five and then six tribal alliances who treated "at the forest's edge" as equal powers with the Confederation of United States in the eighteenth century (Jefferson, an expert in Indian language and culture, as was Franklin, is said to have translated "Iroquois" as "We-the-people"). Some eastern tribes did survive displacement and revitalize over several centuries, as Anthony Wallace records of some twenty thousand Iroquois now living on reservations in New York State, Quebec, and Ontario (*The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*).[10]

Beginning in the 1830s many Indian cultures were "removed" to the "Great American Desert" west of the Mississippi—a diaspora under Presidential decree and military escort. Andrew Jackson promised the eastern tribes, through agents:

> Say to them as friends and brothers to listen to their father, and their friend. Where they now are, they and my white children are too near to each other to live in harmony and peace. . . . Beyond the great River Mississippi. . . their father has provided a country large enough for them all, and he advises them to move to it. There their white brothers will not trouble them, and they will have no claim to the land, and they can live upon it, they and all their children, as long as grass grows and waters run.[11]

Already settled there, the Plains Indians resisted, protesting encroachment from eastern tribes shoved west and fighting the invasion of land-grabbing, gold-searching, buffalo-slaughtering, treaty-violating White immigrants who brought with them the railroad, guns, ploughs, fences, plagues, alcohol, and the Bible. When "the very animals of the forest" began fleeing "the hairy man from the east," Luther Standing Bear notes, "then it was for us that the Wild West began." The "Indian Wars" lasted from the 1860s to the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890. From 1881 to

1883 the government employed marksmen to slaughter the remaining two and a half million buffalo, once fifteen million in 1700, that were the tribes' main life-support.[12] The seasonal migrations of the tribes, following the game, were disrupted forever. Soldiers herded the survivors onto "reserves" of waste land, issued "citizen's dress" (coat and trousers), and ordered them to "civilize." The Secretary of the Interior commented in 1872 on killing the buffalo to starve Indians onto reservations: "A few years of cessation from the chase will tend to unfit them for their former mode of life, and they will be the more readily led into new directions, toward industrial pursuits and peaceful habits."[13] The transition did not take place so easily or soon; over a hundred years later many Indian peoples are still caught between cultures, living the worst conditions of both.

The many treaties and speeches spanning three centuries of contact represent the first recorded Indian literatures, documenting the precision and eloquence of Indian oratory. Constance Rourke sees these documents as the first American "chronicle plays,"[14] and Lawrence Wroth observes that the Indians "spoke as free men to free men, or often indeed as kings speaking to kings."[15] For over two hundred years even military defeat could not dislodge the Indian spirit of rightful place in America. After fleeing seventeen hundred miles into the bitter winter of 1877, Chief Joseph grieved with dignity as he surrendered the Nez Percé:

> My people, some of them, have run away to the hills and have no blankets, no food. No one knows where they are—perhaps they are freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children and see how many of them I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs, I am tired. My heart is sad and sick. From where the sun now stands I will fight no more forever.[16]

There is still honor in this sense of defeat. And in 1883 Sitting Bull, the Lakota warrior extradited from Canada, told reservation bureaucrats from Washington:

> I am here by the will of the Great Spirit, and by His will I am a chief. My heart is red and sweet, and I know it is sweet, because whatever passes near me puts out its tongue to me; and yet you men have come here to talk with us, and you say you do not know who I am. I want to tell you that if the Great Spirit has chosen anyone to be the chief of this country, it is myself (Senate Report #283).[17]

The "Indian" Bureau was first established in 1824 under the War Department. Indgenous to cultural and geographical diversities, Native Americans are aligned on one point: they compose the only ethnic group inside its boundaries that the United States has warred against and made treaties with—389 broken treaties. Vine Deloria discusses these claims in *Of Utmost Good Faith,* the opening words of a Continental Congress treaty signed by George Washington, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787:

> The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians, their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.[18]

". . . they were chasing us now," Black Elk remembers of the 1870s, "because we remembered and they forgot."[19] While fighting to preserve their own cultural integrity and life-styles, Indians have national policies of removal, starvation, warfare, and genocide. F. Scott Fitzgerald eulogized the national myth of a virgin land, "the green breast of the new world," in *The Great Gatsby,* now revised by the historian Francis Jennings in *The Invasion of America:* "The American land was more like a widow than a virgin. Europeans did not find a wilderness here; rather, however involuntarily, they made one. . . . The so-called settlement of America was a *re*settlement, a reoccupation of a land made waste by the diseases and demoralization introduced by the newcomers."[20] It is an old and shameful story—a history largely fabled in the popular mind, seldom taught honestly in American schools, of murder and cultural suppression and displacement from native lands. It is most commonly dramatized in the 1830s Long March "removal" of the Five Civilized Tribes when over a third of the people died on forced relocation to Oklahoma. Asked his age by a census taker in 1910, the old Creek, Itshas Harjo, answered with a memory purely elegiac:

> I have passed through many days and traveled a long way,
> the shadows have fallen all about me and I
> can see but dimly.
> But my mind is clear and my memory has not failed me.
> I cannot count the years I have lived.
> All that I know about my age is that I was old enough
>   to draw the bow
> and kill squirrels at the time of the second emigration of the
> Creeks and Cherokees from the old country under
> the leadership of Chief Cooweescoowee.
> I was born near Eufaula, Alabama, and left there
> when about fifteen years of age and the trip
> took about a year,
> for the peaches were green when we left Alabama
> and the wild onions plentiful here when we arrived.[21]

Apart from such natural poetry, Indian traditions were dismissed as barbaric, heathen, pagan. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs stated in 1889:

> The Indians must conform to "the white man's ways," peaceably if they will, forcibly if they must. They must adjust themselves to their environment, and conform their mode of living substantially to our civilization. This civilization may not be the best possible, but it is the best the Indians can get. They can not escape it, and must either conform to it or be crushed by it.[22]

Even the skilled ethnologist, James Mooney, could write paternalistically in 1898 "The savage is intellectually a child, and from the point of view of the civilized man his history is shaped by trivial things. . . .[23] Children "kidnapped" into government boarding schools, as Indian people saw it, were ridiculed for their Indian names, stripped of their tribal dress, and punished for speaking native tongues, eventually their elders were shamed out of believing in the ancestral spirit world, animal totems, and vision quests, a speaking landscape sacredly reciprocal with the people.

Culture after culture, beginning with Cortez's destruction of Tenochtitlan in 1521, witnessed deicide as conquered tribes were forced to abandon their own religions and buckle on Christianity. The Indian encounters with missionaries are recorded in a penetrant irony. Red Jacket, the Seneca sachem, asked missionaries near Buffalo in 1805:

> . . .you say that you are right, and we are lost; how do we know this to be true? . . . .
>
> Brother, you say there is but one way to worship and serve the Great Spirit; if there is but one religion, why do you white people differ so much about it?
>
> . . .we will wait a little while and see what effect your preaching has upon them [other whites]. If we find it does them good, makes them honest, and less disposed to cheat Indians, we will then consider again what you have said.[24]

The missionaries denied any "fellowship between the religion of God and the works of the devil." They turned away refusing to shake hands. A century later and graced with the humor of a native courtesy, the bicultural Hopi, Don Talayesva, could recant modern civilization and return to the old ways on the desert:

> I had learned a great lesson and now knew that the ceremonies handed down by our fathers mean life and security, both now and hereafter. I regretted that I had ever joined the Y.M.C.A. and decided to set myself against Christianity once and for all. I could see that the old people were right when they insisted that Jesus Christ might do for modern whites in a good climate, but that the Hopi gods had brought success to us in the desert ever since the world began.[25]

Pressures on Indians to assimilate date farther back than Southwest mission ruins. In preparing for the 1876 Centennial in Philadelphia, the Smithsonian Institution set about gathering Indian curiosities to be displayed in the "Great Wigwam." One hundred Indians from eighteen tribes were invited to encamp at the exhibition, but each had to satisfy a thirteen point checklist: every householder would be pleasant, the "cleanest and finest looking," influential in the tribe, and speak English. He would be attended, the invitation stated, by one wife "well skilled in household arts," a clean child, a dog, and a pony.[26] That year, 1876, the government bartered the Sioux out of the sacred Black Hills for five cents an acre (George Custer two years before had broken the Red Cloud Treaty leading prospectors to gold "from the grass roots down," the richest deposits still in North America). Shortly after Custer charged fifteen thousand Sioux and Cheyenne in villages on a Sun Dance retreat at the Little Big Horn, the Centennial Indian invitations were rescinded.

A more insidious oppression threatens Indians today under melting-pot policies of assimilation: direct and indirect federal coercion of tribes to adapt to mainstream American culture. The disastrous "termination" policies of the 1950s are currently being revived in Congressional bills to abrogate treaties, and "when someone says 'termination,' " an anthropologist of the Montana Blackfeet writes, "the Indians hear 'extermination.' "[27] This essay then seeks to defend cultural independence, as reflected in the literatures of many hundreds of tribal societies extant in America.

America's most diverse minorities hold the status, independently, of "domestic dependent nations" (Justice Marshall opinion of 1831), that is, nations within a nation whose members are legally "wards" of the federal government, yet remain "sovereign." They occupy separate land bases of some fifty-three million acres, salvage from the one hundred and forty million acres allotted under the 1887 Dawes Act.[28] The lands contain half the uranium and one third the strip mine coal in the United States (the coal alone worth perhaps a trillion dollars) and yet some reservations suffer the worst hardship in America—incomes at half the poverty level, five years average schooling, the highest national alcoholism and suicide rates, substandard housing and social services, infant mortality, tuberculosis, and diabetes in multiples beyond any other minority in the country, average life-spans of forty-four years.[29]

Historical ironies notwithstanding, traditional Indian literatures, taken mostly from religious and healing ceremonies, idealize the balance of spiritual and worldly concerns in harmonies throughout the world. Within this context of native visions, fueled by pastoral myths of the noble savage and regression to the Garden of Eden, there is a tendency, among Indians and non-Indians alike, to gloss contemporary reservation life and visions of the-way-things-used-to-be. We still fail to see the Native American as an individual with a tribal, human identity. "To be an Indian in modern American society," Vine Deloria writes in *Custer Died For Your Sins*, "is in a very real sense to be unreal and ahistorical."[30] The transparent "Indian," a film and fictional stereotype, lingers more a silhouette—the only minority anonymously enshrined on our currency, the "Indian-head" nickel. And the true history of national Indian affairs shapes an oftentimes bitter resistence to "the American way." D. H. Lawrence wrote in *Studies in Classic American Literature* (1923):

> The desire to extirpate the Indian. And the contradictory desire to glorify him. Both are rampant still, to-day.
>
> The bulk of the white people who live in contact with the Indian to-day would like to see this Red brother exterminated; not only for the sake of grabbing his land, but because of the silent, invisible, but deadly hostility between the spirit of the two races. The minority of whites intellectualize the Red Man and laud him to the skies. But this minority of whites is mostly a high-brow minority with a big grouch against its own whiteness.[31]

When America catches the shadow of native peoples on its money and names professionally competitive teams the Warriors, the Indians, the Redskins, or the Aztecs, the stereotype surely reaches down through a sentimental myth of the noble savage into "the bloody loam" of national history—a refracted image that covers several million lives destroyed or violently "removed" from their native earth.[32] And today, there seem "so few of them left," Frederick Turner observes in his *North American Indian Reader*, "so far away from the centers of population."[33] This, too, is open for discussion, since Native Americans represent the fastest growing minorities in America, doubling in population between 1950 and 1970, and more than half now live off-reservation. If the people are few in number, they remain many in ancient diversity and stand mythically large in the national consciousness. We would do well to appreciate their literatures as origins of cultural history in America.

NOTES

1. John Neihardt, ed., *Black Elk Speaks* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961; 1932), p. 25.
2. Kund Rasmussen, *Across Arctic America. Narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927), p. 164.

3. I use Vine Deloria's figure of 315 culturally functional tribes in the United States today (*Custer Died For Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969), p. 13). As a Standing Rock Sioux, former president of the National Congress of American Indians, and legal counsel for Indian affairs, Deloria is in a position to arbitrate figures that vary from two hundred to six hundred extant "tribes." The statistics for aboriginal population are even less firm. Harold E. Driver cites Kroeber (1934, 1939) with the lowest estimate of 4,200,000 for the North American continent in 1492 and Dobyns (1966) with about 60,000,000. He revises to estimate perhaps 30,000,000 for the continent (*Indians of North America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 1969, pp. 63–64). Dobyns's most liberal estimates are ten to twelve million people north of the Rio Grande, roughly two thousand cultures speaking a thousand languages (Henry F. Dobyns, "Estimating Aboriginal American Population: An Appraisal of Techniques with a New Hemispheric Estimate," *Current Anthropology* (1966): 414). In response to this controversy, Alfonso Ortiz, the Tewa anthropologist, wrote to me that "no responsible anthropologist known to me believes that there were several thousand aboriginal cultures in Native America north of the Rio Grande, nor were there a thousand languages spoken. Five hundred languages and as many cultures is a commonly agreed estimate. On population eight million is the most liberal upper estimate with any following at all. True, the figures keep getting revised upward slowly as retrieval and sampling techniques improve, but until they do even more, anything beyond what I cite is at best conjectural" (personal correspondence, 25 January 1979).
4. Harold E. Driver, *Indians of North America* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1969; 1961), pp. 527–28. Bureau of Indian Affairs and United States Census figures.
5. Jorge Luis Borjes, "The Oral Poetry of the Indians," *Literature of the American Indians: Views and Interpretations*, Abraham Chapman, ed. (New York: New American Library, 1975), p. 277.
6. Barre Toelken, "Seeing with a Native Eye: How Many Sheep Will It Hold?" in *Seeing with a Native Eye. Essays on Native American Religion*, Walter Holden Capps, ed. (New York: Harper, 1976), p.17.
7. Neihardt, p. 1.
8. See selected papers and discussion from a UCLA symposium on American Indian Studies as a graduate program, UCLA *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 2 (3–4), (1978): 1–46. Also see *Contemporary Issues of the American Indian*, college course designs published by the National Indian Education Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota. The Modern Language Association is projecting a book of sample course curricula for teaching Native American Literatures.
9. Claude Levi-Strauss, "The Making of an Anthropologist," *Tristes Tropique* (New York: Atheneum, 1974; 1955), trans. by John and Doreen Weightman.
10. Anthony F. C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Random House, 1969).
11. D'Arcy McNickle, *Native American Tribalism: Indian Survivals and Renewals* (New York: Oxford, 1973), p. 72.
12. See Francis Haines, *The Buffalo* (New York: Crowell, 1970) and Tom McHugh, *The Time of the Buffalo* (New York: Knopf, 1972).
13. Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian. The Indians of the United States and Alaska*. III (New York: Johnson, 1970; 1908) p. 11.

14. Constance Rourke, "The Indian Background of American Theatricals" in Chapman, p. 257.
15. Lawrence C. Wroth, "The Indian Treaty as Literature" in Chapman, p. 327.
16. Margot Astrov, ed., *American Indian Prose and Poetry*, originally published in 1946 as *The Winged Serpent* (New York: Capricorn, 1962) p. 87.
17. Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1970), p. 424.
18. McNickle, p. 51.
19. Neihardt, p. 138.
20. Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1975), p.30.
21. William Brandon, ed., *The Magic World: American Indian Songs and Poems* (New York: Morrow, 1971), p. 115.
22. Report of T. J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the Secretary of the Interior, 1 October 1889, in Chapman, p. 16.
23. James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians. Extract from the Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1898), p. 154.
24. Astrov, pp. 163–64.
25. Astrov, p. 248.
26. Robert A. Trennert, "The Indian Role in the 1876 Centennial Celebration," UCLA *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* (4), (1976): 7–13.
27. Malcolm Mcfee, *Modern Blackfeet: Montanans on a Reservation* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1972), p. 64.
28. See Vine Deloria's argument for a pan-Indian political coalition based on a separate land base and tribal sovereignty in *Custer Died For Your Sins.*
29. Howell Raines, "American Indians Struggling for Power and Identity," *The New York Times Magazine*, 11 February 1979; Edgar S. Cahn, *Our Brother's Keeper: The Indian in White America* (Washington: World Publishing, 1969).
30. Deloria, *Custer*, p. 2.
31. D.H. Lawrence, "Fenimore Cooper's White Novels" in *Studies in Classic American Literature* (New York: Viking, 1966; 1923), p. 36.
32. Williams first wrote on American violence as a mythic act of regeneration soaked into "the bloody loam" of the country's history *(In the American Grain*, (New York New Directions, 1956; 1925)), and Richard Slotkin has developed a "mytho-poeic" reading of American Cultural archetypes through a study of colonial and frontier literary history *(Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600–1860* (Middletown: Wesleyan University, 1973) ,. New studies on Indian stereotyping and image-making are revising old myths about civilization and savagery: among many recent statements see Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land* (New York: Random House, 1975); Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The Indian in America* (New York: Harper, 1975); Frederick W. Turner III, *The Portable North American Indian Reader*, Introduction (Kingsport: Viking, 1973), and Fredi Chiappelli, *et. al.*, eds., *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, 2 Vols. (Berkeley: University of California, 1976).
33. Turner, p. 9.

VI

AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES AND THE FUTURE

AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES AND THE FUTURE

JOHN ROUILLARD

Since 1976, some of us in higher education programs have been talking about the future of Indian studies and comparing our various program missions with each other. At that time, we observed a handful of programs that were defined as American Indian or Native American studies and some of the general questions and concerns focused on a modest variety of issues.

As I remember, some of these were:

1. Can Indian studies be sustained as a discrete academic discipline? At that time, as now, these programs were being compared with the evolution of the Black and Chicano studies programs where there had developed elements of success, particularly, as departmentally established.
2. Who are the students who are being attracted to Indian studies courses? Are these students Indians? If they are Indian, is the attraction of the coursework performing the function which has been commonly identified as "relevance"? In other words, is the significant service of these courses helping to attract and retain Indian students?
3. Do efforts to establish intellectual integrity in the framework of academia curricula result in a loss of the cultural integrity of the traditional Indian knowledge system?
4. Even if the development of discrete Indian studies disciplines is successful, can we anticipate that there will be a present or future manpower pool of trained academics who will accept the teaching mission of Indian studies as a future service area?

Since that time in the early 1970s that higher education interest began to rise, there have developed only a handful of programs with Indian studies classes and they basically fall into these categories:

1. The Ethnic studies component where clusters of courses are taught, usually are teaching faculty who come from the represented ethnic cultures. In a few cases, particularly in California and some Midwestern Universities, these have included a component called "Indian Studies."

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

2. The distinct establishment of separate, autonomous departments of "Indian Studies" has occurred in no more than four public or private universities or colleges. Two of these are San Diego State and the University of Minnesota.
3. The development of tribally chartered, Indian-controlled colleges as a result of community interest and/or strong tribal support. Special legislation is providing base funding for Indian community college development and most of these colleges include an Indian studies division.

Naturally, there are widely, diverse attitudes and opinions about the need or effectiveness of any of the types of higher education activities which have emerged to support the needs of Indian students. At a 1976 symposium on the subject of higher education opportunities and the status of Indian studies, we discussed with a great concern our views about proposed "graduate programs" in the area of Indian studies. Since that time, several universities around the country have sought, with the help of Indian advisers and faculty, to develop "special graduate programs" that attract qualified Indians into major fields of study perceived to be fields which respond to needs of Indian communities.

There are programs in linguistics with Indian faculty who are making a special appeal for Indian students who speak their language, and to study to become leaders in language education programs for Indians. There are program developments in graduate studies for tribal management incorporating traditional business administration curriculum with an Indian community flavor. There are law programs appealing to future Indian lawyers to work for the Indian people in the complex field of Indian law. A political science "graduate division" is planning a graduate program for Indian policy development. A bill has recently been introduced in Congress that proposes to provide special support money for land grant colleges to enable them to develop programs for energy and mineral development on Indian reservations. The interesting thing in all of these developments is that they seem to be peaking in activity at a time when universities, states, and educational systems throughout the country are facing severe cutbacks because of the deteriorating economy and the grassroots tax revolts which are undercutting firmly established educational systems throughout the country. The most vulnerable program in any situation of crisis, such as we face today, has to be the concept of Indian studies within the structured environment of a university. The typical argument when academic retrenchment occurs is to draw back and protect the academic core. It goes without saying that if this body of information comes from outside the mainstream of philosophical and intellectual thought of western civilization, it is not academic core.

Now we all know that the typical academic and the average American, and even, unfortunately, the grassroots Indian, has little understanding or appreciation for the contribution of America's Indian cultures, philosophies, arts, and political systems. Therefore, there is little interest in identifying what has been developed in the past decade as discrete studies of the past and present of the American Indian as part of the academic core of our society.

If we gather Indian leadership together today, we find that our most able spokesmen differ very widely on what they perceive to be the best service that higher education can provide for the future of Indians. When major leaders ask what the value of a sociologist, anthropologist, political scientist, or historian might be, and offers rather that our Indian people need business managers, engineers, scientists, and medical personnel, we have to recognize that Indian people today are bound to be influenced by their personal bias which, like all others, seems to develop out of our personal strengths. Many of the political leaders in today's Indian communities have had the advantage of some type of formal education and, consequently, they are bound to carry some of the same parochialism into their observation of what is needed and best for Indians, since that is how the general society sees things.

How does this differ from the perspective and expectations of the dominant society? Very little, it turns out. If you scratch very deeply into the cross-section of the American public, they too see the traditionally academic pursuits more as elitist and unnecessary in their view of what constitutes a necessary education. This has been the legacy of the Middle-American view for many decades. We have to recognize that a lot of Indian people maintain this parochial view even though they fail to recognize that this outlook is hard evidence of their degree of assimilation into the white man's society.

In recounting the various activities which constitute the Indian studies movement, we can all identify somewhat with one or more of the types that I have just described and discussed. It was an original intention of mine to attempt a perilous journey into the land of prophecy. This is hardly the climate for discussing solution for our programs in terms of strengthening the political clout of the Indian people. We have many lessons to learn: We have to learn the lesson that the corporate structure of American would like to teach the Indian communities. There is no doubt that the corporate energy network is directly behind proposed legislation to get land grant colleges into the business of special education for Indian young people in the areas of energy and resource development and management. We must ask the question about the degree of tribal decision making and the corporate energy network's influence that could go into the structure of this training and, indeed, is there any interest in incorporating any of the academic expertise of our known Indian intellectual community? Have we learned the lesson that the dramatic appeal of technology and development has worked wonders in the council chambers and wreaked havoc in the mountains, canyons, and water systems of Indian land?

During the past four years, optimism has been high concerning growth in higher education programs for Indians. Perhaps we have learned one lesson and that is not to count too much on the promise of educational program development even though legislation has passed funding/bills for community colleges. Also, a handful of ethnic and Indian studies programs have achieved some level of security within the structure of academic governance of various universities.

We know that the times are bad and that Indian programs will take the brunt of backlash and retribution in many ways. The American Indian Higher Education Consortium lost all of its funding (from Title III) and I feel this is a direct political action related to the impact that the growing community college movement has made and the fear that the Indian colleges, if successful, will be another obstacle to America's master plan to conclude the assimilation of Indian tribes.

I hope we have learned a lesson that teaches us to be resourceful in the face of a gradual or an abrupt loss of funding. For far too long, many Indian programs have been accepted only so long as these programs are maintained as (what I refer) a "mascot" status by traditional departments in certain universities. Only so long as their Indian "mascot" generated Indian program funds were these programs supported. Very seldom do we find any of these programs generating tenure track positions to help to (1) truly institutionalize the federal program, and (2) to help to attract and hire Indian professors.

As one prediction for the future, I draw upon the experience of the past and of the present. Programs that do not have the status of an autonomous department, or something similar, will never have the protection that accrues with tenured faculty or the ability to provide academic policy at the department level. Of course, my present experience teaches me that departmental status and tenure is not sacrosanct in the face of planning for cutbacks which relate to enrollment decline or other factors related to the economic crisis faced by education and society at large.

In my final predication, I predict that we will continue to fantasize and maybe even plan a framework of a total educational alternative for American Indian people.

Dean Chavers recently published a feasibility study for an American Indian university, and all of us, at some time or another, have been involved in discussions about the practicality or need of such an institution. I personally believe that it is feasible, that there is a need, and that there certainly is reflected in that need a still untapped philosophy of education to be developed that can help guide the formulation of a much-needed master plan.

What do we have to overcome to start to approach the identification of these philosophical principles? Mainly, the defeatist attitude that the majority of us have learned to accept and rationalize about the ability, or rather, the inability of Indian people to get together on anything. We have to overcome the feeling that those of us who have struggled and worked and suffered and sacrificed to have bestowed upon us academic credentials from one of the traditional disciplines must continue to respect the heritage of that discipline and, as a result, to carry a deep-seated—even subconscious—fear of some sort of eternal retribution if we lean too much toward the revolutionary edge of something called Indian studies or Indian education.

In conclusion, I think we all have to examine whether or not we Indians have bought into America's "expectation" of the Indian. The present turmoil about the definition of Indian and the elaborate arguments circulated around the nation regarding who speaks for "real" Indians. ("How dare you define who we are!") are characteristic of the things that people are getting hot about today: the amazing phenomena of thousands of Indians attending school and succeeding in all sorts of professional and graduate programs in 1979 and 1980, when in 1969, you could count them on the fingers of two hands; and the astounding number of people in professional and corporate employment who have reclassified themselves as Indian for whatever advantage this is supposed to provide. All these and more are symptamatic of the state of affairs of the grand plan for the assimilation of the American Indian. Sometime during this workshop I hope some of you will discuss in a serious, objective way this issue which is creating much controversy among the Indian organizations and individual tribes.

Without arriving at a dogmatic conclusion, I hope you sense from my comments, that I conclude that America (that great shadowy figure that defines "Indian") carries a consensus expectation that Indians will leave the tribal state and will assimilate. That's my conclusion of what others think of Indians. What I conclude about Indians will be the topic of my next talk ten years from now.

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AS AN ACADEMIC HAVEN FOR NATIVE AMERICAN STUDIES

PHILIP LUJAN AND L. BROOKS HILL

Spawned in the civil rights struggle of the 1960's, ethnic studies programs have variously evolved into an academic potpourri of questionable value to the students and institutions which support them.[1] Typically, the programs are separate interdisciplinary efforts which survive on their ability to persuade others to cooperate. Occasionally, they are identified as institutes or centers, labels which permit their existence, but, here again, only provide a life of compromises and struggle for "soft money." Sometimes, they have disciplinary status, but the ambiguity of such status in the value system of higher education and the lack of academic integrity among ethnic programs reduces the value of this status.[2]

The purpose of this paper is to examine the current problems confronting ethnic studies programs and to pose a re-conceptualization which places intercultural communication as a philosophical and academic base for these programs in the 1980's. Because of our experiences, we will primarily focus our attention on Native American Studies.[3] Although we recognize the difficulties of generalizing from one minority group to another and the peculiarities of each academic institution, the case we develop provides sufficient prima facie evidence to justify its further examination.

A Need for Change

No consistent, uniformly accepted definition or conception of an ethnic studies program is available in our educational system.[4] In and of itself this is not necessarily bad, if there were sufficient fundamental agreement regarding goals and strategies for realizing them. However, a lack of such

The previous numbered page in
the original document was blank

agreement and the consequent diversity of focus has created a counterproductive situation for Native American Studies. The resulting confusion has made it relatively easy for both administrations and traditional academic disciplines to operate without substantive changes in universities or academic disciplines. In other words, our efforts have been diffuse and have minimized success.

Some of the more prevalent goals of various Native American Studies programs reveal the problems. These goals fall into two general interrelated categories: general growth patterns and program operationalization. Regarding the growth patterns, NAS programs have demonstrated their progress primarily by increase in size and proliferation. Whereas these are legitimate concerns, particularly for new projects, if the growth is uncontrolled and poorly integrated into the broader system, then the quality of development is seriously compromised.

Regarding program operationalization, three more specific goals commonly appear: First, most programs are designed to assist minority recruitment and retention, and to develop "relevant" curricular content. Secondly, despite profound practical and philosophical limitations, programs have attempted to provide an environment for Indians to learn about "Indianness." Thirdly, programs have attempted to represent and promote Indian concerns within an academic environment. Despite the legitimacy of these goals, their operationalization in programs reveals several disillusions and a failure to address internal philosophical shortcomings. These two categories of goals and the problems entailed deserve elaboration.

Program Growth Patterns

From an administrative perspective the simplest solution to the minority crisis of the 1960's was to create ad hoc ethnic study programs.[5] Separate programs were convenient, because they provided a temporary solution to the problems without substantively affecting the established academic disciplines. This approach created a mindset that NAS programs were the repository of Native American positions and concerns. It also reduced the pressure on academic disciplines to respond with substantive improvements. Course content, for example, remained virtually unchanged with little attempt to incorporate a legitimate Native American perspective. This separateness of NAS programs only strengthened the position of administrators and faculty already resistant to change.

Implicit in this ad hoc approach was a hedge against unpredictable outcomes: If ethnic studies were merely a passing fad, then dropping an ad hoc entity is simple and has little effect on the operation of the overall system. While creating the impression of specialness, these independent programs were also easy to financially reprioritize. In either case their stability was continously jeopardized. If, on the other hand, ethnic studies materialized, then the institutions could address their future later. Regardless of their varied condition, ethnic studies have now materialized, but universities have been slow to address their future.

This magnanimous ad hoc action gave the appearance of creating minority opportunities in an environment bereft of representation. Coupled with a prevailing administrative attitude of "anything represents growth," this action was sufficient to propel us into the first generation of ethnic studies. Closer examination of this apparent progress reveals, however, a saddening condition. Whether tenured or untenured, the faculty positions generated were, in reality, "para-academic" positions, and their development left little professional opportunity except movement to other ethnic studies programs. As students attempted to move into the public sector, they found limited opportunities for their specialized training. Often viewed as "quasi-degrees," the degree is new and unfamiliar to traditional niring sources. Given the vagaries of funding and political cycles, we may produce graduates with college degrees incapable of finding jobs. Within this appearance of growth, administrators and faculty could neglect the lack of real minority opportunity and even withstand the threat of HEW lawsuits and the demands of minority members.

The ad hoc administrative arrangement and consequent lack of integration into the mainstream of academia are closely related with the inability of these programs to attract significant enrollment outside of their specific minority constituency. Although it may be comforting to attribute this situation to the general indifference of the Anglo majority on college campuses, the condition is at least partially related to the administrative structure of separate programs. NAS programs offer courses which are primarily elective, but despite their availability, constraints of the university and marketplace urge the general student body not to elect these courses, especially when these courses are not respected enough to count toward a major in a traditional discipline. To some ethnic studies directors and minority students the absence of their Anglo classmates is desirable; this is an unfortunate extension of the idea that ethnic studies courses are designated solely to help ethnic minority students. In times of limited budgets, dwindling enrollments for whatever reasons jeopardize courses and programs.

One of the most counterproductive aspects of current ethnic studies programs is the necessity for the limited personnel to become embroiled in administrative and budgetary concerns. Thus ethnic studies directors—people who are selected for their competence in teaching, cultural awareness, and acceptability by their ethnic group—are submerged in a situation which has little relation to their skills and which diverts their energy and attention away from developing stronger, more viable programs. While these conditions will perhaps always plague university programs, their debilitating effects can be diminished with less "soft-money" dependence and the added personnel provided by traditional departments. The limited personnel and the excessive demands on them produce a survival orientation which leads to uncritical accommodation to exigencies, bordering on prostitution, and the dilution of the program's integrity.

With questionable integrity and continuous accommodation to external pressures, the programs become all things to all people. This results in reduced academic respect and the image of ethnic studies as an administrative sop to pacify minorities.[6] Compounding the problem, the proliferation of ethnic studies programs has also affected the image adversely.[7] After the initial breakthrough with programs at a few universities, academic "me-tooism" set in, as other schools established similar programs with less and less thought of the consequences. What has resulted is proliferation of symbolic success without real substantive growth or change, partially reflected in the marginal worth of ethnic studies majors and degrees.

Even more frightening are the drop-out rates of ethnic minorities. Despite the proliferation of special programs formulated to address retention, the drop-out rates of Native Americans have reduced only about 1-2% during the past decade.[8] Even schools which spend relatively large amounts on Indian programs share this problem. Schools which have more dramatically affected their rate owe their success to the attraction of higher quality Indian students. Every school wants the "minority A students," but only a few schools can compete for them. Far more challenging is the task of retaining to graduation the average Indian college student, whose Anglo counterpart usually finds success and a degree. This marginal level of success with the typical student demands reassessment of where we are and where we are moving.

The optimism of a naive beginning for ethnic studies has recently disappeared.[9] What has now developed is an increased number of minority students and program personnel who are generally displeased with an ad hoc arrangement which relegates them, once again, to second class status. National organizations of ethnic studies personnel and the growing interest in cultural pluralism have forced recognition of the central problem of these growth patterns: amorphic development with little substance and marginal viability.[10] Initially, the creation of separate ethnic studies programs provided minority groups with a sense of self-importance, a place to revel in ethnicity and to call the Anglo culture into question. This apparent success obscured the absence of a realistic strategy for effective social change.

Program Operationalization

One prevalent goal of Native American Studies has been to assist minority recruitment and retention; to assist this goal required "relevant" curricular content. For these purposes classes became an opportunity to discuss the Native American perspective, with the presumption that this inherent interest factor would positively affect recruitment, attendance, and retention of material. More cynically, this may suggest that such courses are also present to raise the overall grade point average of Native American students and to foster the exchange of esoteric Indian stories. If such a condition exists, the liabilities of this strategy are enormous, because inflated grades and non-rigorous course content strengthen the resistance to such courses and weaken further academic integrity.

The examination or discussion of Indian issues in the absence of the legitimate questioning from alternative perspectives enhances many unrealistic biases and notions of Indian students. Granted that such restricted courses may provide a temporary catharsis to air injustices and grievances, they will provide little development of substantive strategies for survival. Instead, they create an artificial environment with the capability of only producing "green-house plants," incapable of developing the necessary resiliency and reasoning skills to cope with the criticism of the dominant society. The Anglo culture is not going to disappear, and neither are the socio-economic realities of the Native American in relation to it. Thus, the absence of non-Indian students and a restrictive perspective precludes the opportunity for both groups to enrich their university experience by exposure to cultural diversity and by confronting ethnocentricity and presumptions of each culture. The exposure, however, may influence favorably the reciprocal perceptions of all students involved.

Providing an environment for young Indians to learn about "Indianness" presents the greatest potential for mischief among Indian people themselves. The practical and philosophical difficulties with this goal revolve around the highly personal nature of NAS development and the questionable intrusion of universities in the business of cultural preservation.

Limited by funding and personnel, ethnic studies programs often become an individual expression of the particular director's ethnic bias and identity. Thus the program tends to become a direct reflection of one, or a small number of, person's life experiences as a minority member, making program strategy and course content narrow and potentially exclusionary of some minority students.[11] If this highly subjective orientation permeates the program, the students and university sacrifice their appreciation for the realistic diversity of the minority experience among members of the same cultural group. This circumstance is particularly aggravated in the case of Native Americans because of diverse tribal and regional backgrounds.

Brochures from various Native American Studies programs often attest to the bias imposed by the directors and their staff. Subtly the emphasis on certain perspectives creeps into the prose. Although the regional distribution of tribal culture groups might be offered as a defense, the fact remains that one is likely to find almost any tribe represented at a particular university. This bias is further aggravated when programs reflect the academic background of the director. Perhaps least palatable is the bias which stems from the unique perspective a Native American director might subtly impose on students who have not experienced those problems.[12] The temptation to be "The Indian" among young Indians searching for "Indianness" and the deferential behavior of non-Indian academics can be intoxicating and overwhelming. Whatever the source of the bias or its defense, the results are restrictive and counterproductive.

The biases imposed underscore a basic conflict between being educated and retaining Indianness. Nothing is more compelling than to encounter a young student in search of their identity; for the Indian student the search can quickly erode the objectivity of sympathetic instructors. Given federal relocation and economic realities on reservations, the self-identity problems of the Indian student are not necessarily self-induced. However, program directors with the mantle of "official Indian" must restrain themselves. These same directors are fond of pointing out the vast cultural diversity of individual tribes and yet refrain in their own interaction with students and other Indians from granting this very diversity.

The education-Indianness dilemma of the individual director leads to a broader consideration of the university as a vehicle to learn Indianness. The problem is analogous to the time when museums rationalized the theft of Indian religious artifacts because Indians, they presumed, were incapable of caring for and preserving them. Similarly, it is condescension for a university to believe it can teach one to be an Indian. It can certainly retain records, artifacts, and otherwise provide information about Indians. This is sufficient and justified for non-Indians as an academic interest and for Indians as a point of historical departure. However, this is a far cry from "being" Indian. Neither NAS programs nor universities can make someone into an Indian. Students must find their own tribe and culture within the environment in which the culture lives. Any other approach fosters illusion rather than reality and creates a transparent superficiality readily detected by members of their intended culture.

NAS is also used as a position of power from which dramatic changes might be wrought within academic institutions. This approach has often fostered a pathological preoccupation with locating examples of white racism in university disciplines. This may be a laudable academic concern and a legitimate long-range goal, but should not provide the focus of a positive approach to Native American Studies. Indian students politicized to reflect this orientation will experience personal frustration and group failure in well meaning attempts to help or work for Indian people. Even if NAS personnel were able to marshall the evidence to make the white society admit its racism, injustices to Indians, and agree to change, the admissions and willingness would have at best a negligible effect on the collective problems faced by contemporary Indian students and people. The attempt to convert the dominant society may be a hopeless task, but productive changes may occur if we focus attention on teaching Native Americans to cope successfully with Anglo institutions and people.

The current problems of ethnic studies programs do not exclusively result from persons and conditions external to the programs. At a more fundamental level, several basic issues remain unanswered. Whether programs should facilitate mainstreaming of students into the overculture or foster a separatist accentuation on their unique cultural identity confounds efforts to settle on a unifying philosophy.[13] Whether programs should seek separate departmental and disciplinary status or maintain an ad hoc interdisciplinary orientation also renders unified action difficult. And, although most programs are apparently geared to assist ethnic communities outside the university, confusion over philosophy, student preparation, and means to provide this assistance restrict the effort.

Collectively, problems within and external to ethnic studies programs pose major limitations on their development. Until these problems are resolved in some acceptable, defensible fashion, the programs will continue to languish in the cracks of an administrative system whose fundamental traditionalism and conservatism will compromise their potential. As a point of departure, this paper poses an alternative.

Toward a Viable Solution

The viability of any proposal for the future of ethnic studies programs will ultimately be determined by measures of realistic, rather than merely symbolic, success for the students enrolled.[14] Herein, "realistic success" with students in ethnic studies programs is operationalized to entail four major ingredients: (1) completion of an acceptable degree program; (2) marketability of the individual in the broader society; (3) awareness of their ethnic tradition and identity; and (4) recognition of the student's value and role in addressing the social problems of their broader ethnic community outside the university. A closely related aspect, though not necessarily an essential of realistic success, is that the student must retain the right to choose a course of action; this entails the presentation of alternatives for student choice without prejudicial imposition of viewpoint.

Completion of a degree program is a crucial, but an occasionally neglected aspect of success. Given the complexity of the drop-out problem, no simple formula is available; however, the role of the NAS program deserves careful scrutiny. When the Native American student enters college, a diversity of conditions and pressures collectively retard the likelihood of success.[15] One specific circumstance is the contrasting value systems the student encounters. If a program becomes an escape from the objective, explicit comparison of these viewpoints, the student will likely make an uninformed decision or withdraw. This is especially true where programs reinforce rather than examine negative Anglo and Indian interaction, and where they subjectively propagate differences between cultures rather than objectify them. If, on the other hand, the student learns to treat the different viewpoints objectively, then whatever the choice, the likelihood of ethnic pressures precluding completion of a degree program are reduced. Generally stated, it will remove the either/or choice between Indianness and education.[16] Even though the ethnic studies program can facilitate adaptation to an unusual environment, if it becomes a crutch or escape, the student may never learn to cope unaided. Students already would prefer to belong to the Indian club, hang around with Indian students, attend all Indian classes, and study only Indian subjects. If such actions are condoned, we will compromise their educational opportunity. From an objective perspective students can learn to acculturate without necessary assimilation, to interact with minimum prejudice, and to complete a degree program more readily.

The marketability of the student in the broader society is another realistic measure of success often neglected or belittled by ethnic studies programs. To achieve marketability certainly entails information and skills useful in the job market, but perhaps more importantly it entails a sensitivity to the overculture itself. One might refer to this sensitivity as 'market sense" or "economic sense" or yet another label, but whatever the term, the central notion is awareness of the value system underriding the overculture. Whether one likes it or dislikes it, as long as the overculture dominates the economic welfare of our country, sensitivity to the system is prerequisite to success within it. To acquaint the students with the strengths and weaknesses of this system and to demythologize it are important to their consumer education; but to prejudice them uncritically against the system deprives the student the prerogative of choice. Indian youth are in need of successful role models in whatever form or field; to limit the definition of success according to the "moral persuasion" of program personnel is unethical. No other ethnic culture group maintains such a strong sense of "ownership" of its members; "to help my people" or to work only with Indian people is an article of faith necessary for continued membership. Yet ironically, no other group has managed to alienate and restrict so many of its own. Avenues of success no matter how diverse or apparently unrelated to Indian people must not be precluded.

Awareness of one's traditions and identity is central to the existence of an ethnic studies program. To reexamine history within one's ethnic orientation, to share in discussions of what it means to be an ethnic member, to study the literature of your group, and to examine issues and implications for your group are all legitimate goals and areas for courses. When, however, these topics are treated with animosity toward other orientations, when these subjects become the exclusive concerns of a program, and when these matters compel the student to abandon all else, the orientation has become myopic and socially dysfunctional for the student.[17] Indeed, such a restricted version replaces prejudicial orientations with prejudicial orientations—scarcely a productive approach for a functionally multi-cultural society.

The fourth and final criterion for "realistic success" is recognition of the student's value and role in addressing the social problems of the broader ethnic community outside the university. Granted that some students attend the university to escape their background, if we judge this alternative adversely and prematurely, we, once again, restrict the right of choice. However, this student, as well as others more concerned with "where they came from," deserve the chance to study the problems unique to their ethnic group and to be trained to address some of these problems. The development of perspectives regarding the problems is but a first step; with careful guidance, the students should be urged to conduct research and prepare papers on the nature of these problems.[18]

In this fashion they can be more objectively informed and involved.[19] To create extreme social pressures for the students to focus their career development toward these concerns is to convert the classroom to a recruitment center without adequate concern for the student's desires.

Throughout this discussion of success, glimpses of the central theme in this paper surfaced. To accomplish "realistic success" demands effective intercultural communication, and the extent to which ethnic studies prepares students for intercultural communication will largely determine their degree of success in the overculture.[20] Because of the pragmatic usefulness of intercultural communication to the success of the minority student, indeed, because of its centrality to each of the criteria of "realistic success," we propose a direction for ethnic studies which will help them overcome many of their current problems and realize more of their potential.

Philosophically, we have found, communication provides an excellent home for Native American Studies. As an eclectic discipline, communication provides an introduction to different ways of viewing human behavior and exposes the student to a very pragmatic orientation to the solution of human problems. More specifically, intercultural communication provides a crucible in which students can understand their own culture and objectively examine the problems they have in dealing with the overculture. Indian people as a whole have a relatively low level of sophistication in dealing with Anglo society, and thus the communication of Indian viewpoints and concerns suffers immensely in their translation by the dominant culture. Communication students are simply not taught to be "good speakers," but instead acquire a practical framework within which to develop interaction concepts and skills. They do not study the problems within a prejudicial orientation of better or worse, but rather in a perspective which accents both cultures as good, functional, and capable of reciprocal interaction. What we have observed is the students come away from these courses with an increased appreciation for both cultures and awareness of how to adapt to either. Their positive mindset, in turn, enhances the likelihood of success.

Locating ethnic studies programs within an established discipline such as communication can also eliminate several specific problems. At a superficial level, the additional faculty and administrators can bear part of the program load and realize direct benefits from enrollment increases. Departmental chairpersons can address many of the logistical problems and, with minor adaptation of coursework, faculty can richly adjust to the new students. Indeed, these adjustments are badly needed, because too often the discipline of communication attracts primarily the middle-class Anglo students who need exposure to varied cultural perspectives.

Freeing up the limited ethnic faculty will permit increased opportunities to cultivate interdisciplinary courses without merely begging or borrowing choices, permit greater opportunities to locate research prospects which can involve the students in problems of their broader ethnic community, and permit more opportunities to deal directly with the broader ethnic community in cultivating receptivity to the student's work and sensitivity to the problems.

More substantively, this relief from part of the responsibilities will permit ethnic studies programs the opportunity to resolve some serious concerns which threaten their future. In many ethnic communities an ambivalence exists regarding education. This leads to some basic questions: How can we make education work for us? What can it provide? Simply stated, is it worth it? These questions directly affect the student's attitudes and level of success.[21] Until they are resolved, the usefulness of education remains doubtful, and the dropout rates will remain high. Once these general concerns are addressed, perhaps then we can resolve questions about mainstreaming or cultural separatism, disciplinary status or not, and how to translate what we learn and teach into useful information for the broader ethnic community.

If these advantages can result from locating the programs within a discipline, why would it not be better, one might reason, to make ethnic studies a discipline or set of disciplines independent from others? Here again, the fundamental traditionalism and conservatism of higher education surfaces. Development of discipline status comes very slowly and its acceptance even slower.[22] Creating an administrative entity may serve to isolate, rather than enhance opportunities. Such isolation may, in turn, create such an orientation to the university experience that objective consideration of cultural perspectives is impeded and informed student choice restricted. Until the ethnic programs can stand on their own and insure the necessary respect, they will realize more promise situated within or closely coordinated with a pragmatic discipline such as communication.

Elaboration of this proposal requires at least two preliminary qualifications. First, the close coordination of communication and ethnic studies programs does not mean that students in ethnic studies must major in communication. Instead, we recommend that a small core of communication courses be developed and strongly recommended as part of one's general electives. Their major should come from whatever established discipline they may choose. Second, operationalization of our proposal will depend on the unique circumstances at one's college or university. Thus, the specific relation with communication may vary, and the ethnic orientation will vary with local demands.

Within these two general qualifications, Several guidelines complete our proposal: (1) If at all possible, fit the program within the department or school of communication, to permit administrative convenience and strength. (2) Carefully develop a core of strongly encouraged, optional courses which the students can take early in their program and which will directly aid their understanding and adaptation to the educational environment. (3) Do not offer an ethnic studies major, but retain a group of interdisciplinary course offerings, for example, in literature, history, and anthropology, to serve as a minor, a cognate, or as electives to supplement the student majors. (4) Take an active role in the development of the courses comprising the program to insure that objectivity and high quality are maintained. (5) Be sure that the courses in the program are announced and advertised for all students, not simply the ethnic minority involved. (6) Make provisions to sustain minority personnel as program directors and in critical faculty positions where increased enrollments in the special courses may justify additional personnel. (7) Work to secure enrollments in all these special courses from persons in other programs, especially education, anthropology, and history, where needs and natural interests already exist for marketing the courses.

Conclusion

Ethnic studies programs face a major crisis in the 1980's. For too many years they have operated as ad hoc administrative creations with little substantive effect on their host institutions. The oncoming decade is a time for reexamination of the value and future of these programs. Unless they can demonstrate "realistic," rather than symbolic, success, ground gained during the past two decades will be lost. This paper described some of the problems ethnic studies are confronting, provided some criteria for determining realistic success, and posited a possible solution. The potential of intercultural communication as an academic haven for Native American Studies programs is very great. With such an administrative collaboration we may produce a coalition beneficial to all persons involved, especially the minority students who often suffer most from our ad hoc solutions and administrative convenience.

NOTES

1. Dean Chavers, "The Future of Indian Studies," *Around the Campfire* (Bacone College Newspaper), September, 1980. Although we disagree with some of his conclusions, his lines of reasoning often support our conclusions as well.
2. Russell Thornton, "American Indian Studies as an Academic Discipline," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal.* II, Nos. 3–4 (1978), 10–19.
3. The University of Oklahoma has a large enrollment of approximately 600 Indian students representing 40–45 different tribes from various backgrounds.
4. The few available articles on this topic and recent conferences of ethnic studies directors accent this condition.
5. Wilcomb Washburn, "American Indian Studies: A Status Report," *American Quarterly,* XXVII (August, 1975), 266.
6. L. Brooks Hill and Philip Lujan, "Cultural Pluralism: Implications From the Native Americans of North America," paper presented to the annual convention of the Society for Intercultural Education, Training, and Research (SIETAR), Mexico City, Mexico, March 8, 1979. To appear in *The Journal of Thought,* 1981.
7. Washburn, p. 263.
8. An examination of the minority drop-out statistics of universities will reveal this fact. For instance see Myrna L. Carney, *Summary of Data Related to Attrition* (Studies conducted by the Office of Research for the University Community) Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma, 1978.
9. Observation derived from programs and discussions at several recent conferences regarding ethnic studies programs.
10. Beatrice Medicine, "The Anthropologist and American Indian Studies Program," *The Indian Historian,* IV (Winter, 1971), 15.
11. *Ibid,* p. 17.
12. *Ibid,* p. 16.
13. See "Discussion: Part II" of Symposium on American Indian Studies, *American Indian Culture and Research Journal,* II, Nos. 3–4 (1978), 28–46.
14. See Murray Edelman, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967).
15. Philip Lujan, William R. Kennan, L. Brooks Hill, Larry Long, "Communication Reticence of Native Americans in the Classroom: A Reconceptualization and Approach," paper presented at Speech Communication Association Convention, San Antonio, Texas, November 12, 1979.
16. Philip Lujan and David Dobkins, "Communicative Reticence: Native Americans in the College Classroom," paper presented at Speech Communication Association Convention, Minneapolis, Minnesota, November 12, 1978.
17. Medicine, p. 16.
18. For a multifaceted perspective regarding research amongst ethnic minorities, see "Research Among Racial and Cultural Minorities: Problems, Prospects and Pitfalls," *The Journal of Social Issues,* XXXIII, No. 4 (1977). Special issue edited by Darrel Montero and Gene Levine.
19. Clara Sue Kidwell, "Native American Studies: Academic Concerns and Community Service," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal,* II, Nos. 3–4 (1978), 7.

20. For numerous examples of the role and value of intercultural communication to the minority student's success in the classroom, see *Cross Cultural Communication in the Schools*, edited by Charles D. Moody, Sr. (Ann Arbor: Program for Educational Opportunity, University of Michigan, 1978).
21. For development of this idea see L. Brooks Hill and Philip Lujan, "Rhetoric of Self Identity: The Case of the Mississippi Choctaw," paper presented at the conference on Rhetoric of the Contemporary South, New Orleans, Louisiana, June 30, 1978.
22. See Thornton.

CONTRIBUTORS

Willard Bill
College of Education
University of Washington

Rosalie A. Bindel
Institute of American Indian Arts
Santa Fe, New Mexico

Anthony D. Brown
American Indian Studies Center
UCLA

Ward Churchill
American Indian EOP
University of Colorado, Boulder

Marlys Duchene
Dept. of Political Science
University of Arizona

Jeanne M. Oyawin Eder
Dept. of Indian Studies
University of North Dakota

George Estes
Northern State College
Aberdeen, South Dakota

L. Brooks Hill
Dept. of Communication
University of Oklahoma

Tom Holm
Dept. of Political Science
University of Arizona

Kenneth Lincoln
Dept. of English
UCLA

Philip Lujan
Native American Studies
University of Oklahoma

Grayson Noley
College of Education
Pennsylvania State University

Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz
Native American Studies
California State University, Hayward

Morgan Otis
Dept. of Native American Studies
California State University, Sacramento

Robert M. Peregoy
Center for Native American Studies
Montana State University

Elizabeth A. Rinnander
School of Education
UCLA

John Rouillard
Dept. of American Indian Studies
San Diego State University

Russell Thornton
Dept. of Sociology
University of Minnesota

Daryl Zitzow
Northern State College
Aberdeen, South Dakota